AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XX APRIL, 1945 NUMBER 2

A YANKEE COMMENTS ON TEXAS SPEECH

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I HAVE just returned from a two-year sojourn in the Republic of Texas, a vast land of sun and wind which might be described as in the United States but not exactly of it. In fact, as any Texan will tell you at the drop of a ten-gallon hat, the best the other forty-seven states can hope for from Texas is toleration, once in a great while tinged with pity.

The thousands of soldiers who are sent to the republic for training are baffled and angered by the serenely insulting way in which Texans usually describe the general unworthiness of a lot of damyankees to enter that Paradise on earth. The GI's, and everybody else from anywhere else, find among other things that Texas is triumphantly fighting two wars. For one thing, the republic is engaged in a war 'with them Goddam Japs.' At the same time she is still fighting the Civil War. It goes without saying that she has both well in hand.

For the soft-spoken citizens of the Lone Star republic are avidly patriotic and their sons have leaped into World War II with glee. 'Join the Navy and help Texas win the war' is one of the many expressions which are current throughout the state. At the same time, Texans realize full well that their pleasant land is being put upon by Washington, and they find solace in vague threats of secession. 'After all,' a Texan will drawl in his amiable, self-satisfied way, 'what you yankees don't realize is that Texas is the only state that went into the union by treaty. We kin SE-cede any time we take a notion.'

It is therefore only natural that the republic should have developed such fixtures of sovereign states as a semi-official state church and a way of speech peculiarly its own. The church, of course, is the Baptist Church, of which several prelates like to consider themselves pope.

This state church, even though it is often torn by doctrinal disputes, has had an interesting effect on the state language, and members of the dissident factions are in harmony on many forms of expression. For instance, whether one is a 'Primitive Baptist,' a 'Fundamental Baptist,' or just a plain 'Hardshell Baptist,' one knows that a passage from the Bible

is not a verse or even a quotation but 'a scripcher.' In the constant heated arguments over the interpretation of the Bible, one worthy debater will exclaim: 'All right—prove it to me. Gimme a scripcher. Just gimme a scripcher, that's all.' The Bible, incidentally, is usually referred to as 'The Book.'

Texas clergymen and a great many of their vehement followers make copious use of the phrase 'how that.' 'An' as I stood there takin' our troubles to the Lord in prayer, it came to me how that we could get a new roof on the church,' a preacher will intone. Or, 'As we read in the Book we see how that the Lord sent the apostles forth into the world to carry the word, even unto the least of man.' A Texas clergyman would be lost without his 'how that.'

A Texan seldom 'takes' a man anywhere. He 'carries' him there. 'I carried Mr. Jones out to the flour mill,' or, 'I carried the books back to the library.' This idiom is not exclusively the property of Texas but is common to all southern states.

But universal use of the word 'sorry' is almost pure Texan. It is in constant use by persons in all walks of life and expresses everything from mild displeasure to a fighting word of the strongest order. Texans work that sorry word to death! 'It was the sorriest book I ever read,' or 'the sorriest show I ever seen,' or 'he's a sorry son-of-a-bitch and I ain't a-woofin',' show the various shades of expression which this word has attained.

'A-woofin' ' is an expression which I have seldom encountered anywhere else. It is widely used and is more or less synonymous with 'lying' or 'kidding.' 'I figgered she was a-woofin' me so I hauled off and knocked her bowlegged,' a Texan recently testified in court. Judge and jury alike knew that the indignant male had discovered that his gal was a liar and that he did no more than any red-blooded man would do under the circumstances. The expression also denotes hearty agreement with someone's remarks, as in 'Brother, you ain't a-woofin'.' Incidentally, the woman mentioned above might be a 'gal' or a 'sugah,' but she would never under any circumstances be a 'broad,' a 'tramp,' a 'tomato,' or a 'waffle' in Texas.

Texans spend much of their time 'flat-out telling' somebody. Thus, 'I flat-out told him I wasn't about to carry him down to Santone' means 'I told him bluntly nothing could make me give him a lift to San Antonio.' 'I wasn't *about* to marry her,' and 'I wasn't *about* to let that fellah kick me around,' are self-explanatory.

'Santone,' like innumerable words in the republic's vocabulary, is pronounced 'SAN-tone.' Other words so stressed are 'afternoon' and 'Fort Worth.' 'I called up yesterday AFT-ernoon, the minute I got to

FORT Worth.' A cigaret is a CIG-aret in Texas, and cowboys usually 'build' themselves one rather than roll one.

Many Texans spend happy leisure hours 'goin' out tonkin'.' This means they go to 'honky-tonks.' Sooner or later, being extremely high-spirited, they will start 'cuttin' up Sam,' and eventually somebody will call 'the laws.'

'Three of them laws tried to take me to jail an' I flat-out tol' em they wasn't *about* to run me in!'

'You mean you tol' 'em how the cow ate the cabbage?'

'I *mean* I tol' 'em how the cow ate the cabbage, and I ain't a-woofin', sho nuff.'

One of the gayest and pleasantest expressions in any language is a Texas exclamatory expression of joy at seeing a friend: 'Come in this house!' 'Why if it's not Johnnie and Marylee—Come In This House!' It is a greeting one receives at the doors of the hospitable Texas homes, but it is used in offices and even in taverns or, for that matter, on the street. It is a warm and pleasure-giving phrase wherever it is encountered.

Less warm is such an expression as 'don't you get salty,' meaning 'don't get tough with me.' It is used mostly by Negroes, but some white persons find it valuable.

One can't realize how much pure venom can be contained in the word 'rascal' until he's heard a Texan spit it out. 'Why, that rascal is so sorry his own daddy won't spit on him!' It is hissed with flashing scorn and is very effective.

Texans, who take considerable pride in their traditional soft, whispering drawl, love euphemisms. In many of their newspapers one doesn't die, and in none of their conversations does that inevitable fate overtake him.

'Why, Sarajane, sugah, I cain't tell you how sow-ry I was to heah you had lost your fathuh!'

'Yes, he—uh, passed away Sunday. He had a growth.'

Under happier circumstances a Texan may be so pleased with the world in general and himself in particular that his friends will scoff: 'Look at ol' Billie Bob over there. He thinks he's in hog-Heaven.' Or, 'That fellah sure thought he was in high cotton.' This doesn't mean that the person under discussion was off the beam or suffering from any mental aberration. When a person does slip his trolley in Texas, they fall back on euphemism. 'He isn't quite at himself' is the expression. It means he's anything from slightly daft to stark, staring crazy.

People have a daddy ten times as often in Texas as they have a father. No matter how old a man may be, his 'daddy is ol' Sam H. Fitzwater,' and the person, generally speaking, refers to himself as 'Sam

Fitzwater's boy.' And should 'Sam Fitzwater's boy' belong to the younger generation he would refer to his brother as 'my bud.' This is an expression widely used by men and women throughout the state. 'My bud's in the Marines on Guadal,' a girl will say. Or, 'Me and my bud bought that steer yonder.'

A Negro man is a 'boy' regardless of age or, on some formal occasions, a 'Nigruh.' But whether they address a Negro as 'boy' or refer to him as a 'Nigruh,' Texans believe the darkies are 'gettin' too big for their pants.' With a combination of fear and disgust they blame this situation on Washington and particularly on Eleanor Roosevelt 'with her Goddam Eleanor Clubs.' 'We're just ridin' fer trouble with these niggers an' them sorry bastards up in Washington keep aggin' 'em on,' is a fear that is commonly voiced throughout the republic along the border. Most Texans, incidentally, don't want to persecute the Negroes but want them to 'keep in their place.' If the Nigruhs don't, as more than one admirer of the legion to which his ol' daddy once belonged might remark, five will get you ten that the Ku Klux Klan will ride again. And the word, it should be mentioned, is 'Kew,' as in 'kewpie,' not 'Koo' as in any state where yankees live.

AMISH 'TRIPLE-TALK'

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ANYONE who has delved into the field of Pennsylvania Dutch soon discovers that he has actually three languages to contend with: the Pennsylvania Dutch (or German) dialect, which resembles Palatine German folkspeech despite all exterior influences that have come in contact with it since 1683 (the year of arrival of the first 'Pennsylvania Germans');[1] High German (that is, American High German, or more especially the brand spoken in this country during the last century and maintained in Pennsylvania chiefly through the then flourishing German press and the Lutheran and Reformed pulpits); and American English. It does not require the genius of a linguistic research worker, however, to discover this interesting philological trinity existing among the Pennsylvania Dutch. Naïve outsiders have frequently dismissed the matter of the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect by describing it simply as 'garbled English in the mouths of ignorant farmers who speak with a heavy Dutch accent!' And the speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch themselves are well aware of their own bilingualism, though at times they are not quite sure whether a word or idiom is wholly German or English or a combination of both. The Pennsylvania Dutch of today cannot be called trilingual, because the third language, American High German, is known to them only passively: that is, they have heard sermons or speeches in it or heard their parents read it aloud from the German Bible and hymn- and prayerbooks, but they can no longer converse in any sort of High German, save perhaps quote a few familiar Scriptural passages.

The Old Order Amish[2] of Lancaster County (and various other settlements in other states) are the important exception to the statement con-

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1. For a general introduction to the study of the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect, cf. A. F. Buffington, 'Pennsylvania German; Its Relation to Other German Dialects,' *American Speech*, 14: 276-86 (Dec. 1939); Otto Springer, 'The Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 42: 1-39 (Jan. 1943), with an excellent Bibliography of approximately 175 items on pp. 31-39; J. W. Frey, *A Simple Grammar of Pennsylvania Dutch*, Clinton, S.C., 1942, xi, 140 pp. It is to be noted here that Pennsylvania Dutch has few if any Alemannic features, even in Lancaster and York counties, where Swiss influence was allegedly great. The few shibboleths of Swiss Alemannic long accepted by scholars are also found in Middle German dialects (cf. Springer, *op. cit.*, p. 29).

2. The most authoritative study on the Old Order Amish is the work by Calvin G. Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County*, published by the Pennsylvania German Society, Norristown, Pa., 1942. Bachman carefully traces the history of the Anabaptist movement in Europe in the 16th century, the organization of the Men-

cerning trilingualism among the Pennsylvania Dutch. Here is one socio-religious and linguistic group that must be regarded as speaking three somewhat distinctive yet intermixed tongues: Amish Pennsylvania Dutch, Amish High German, and Pennsylvania Dutch English.[3] We speak of 'Amish' Pennsylvania Dutch because their dialect has some rather unique characteristics, although in general it is typical of the whole region of 'western' Pennsylvania Dutch dialects, that is, of Lancaster and York counties (as opposed to the 'eastern' variety found in Bucks, Northampton, Lehigh, and Berks counties). Amish High German is a hangover from German-preaching days in Pennsylvania churches during the last century, but again there are some peculiarities in pronunciation that are typically Amish. The English used by the Amish—this language being employed only on 'forced' occasions such as talking with non-Amish in towns and cities, or in the public schools—has all the earmarks of the type of speech found among any other Pennsylvania Dutch group. It can be briefly described as American English built on a framework of Pennsylvania Dutch phonemic patterns and interjected continually with whole or part loan-translations from the dialect.[4]

It is the purpose of the present study to examine some of the general and distinguishing features of the type of Pennsylvania Dutch and High German that the Amish speak. The English of that group will not be considered here, except as an occasional observation may help to clarify a philological problem that arises out of discussion of the other two languages. At the outset it will be well to point out the occasions upon which the Amish use their dialect or their High German. The former is employed for all normal everyday conversation with members of the household, friends, with other Amish and Plain sectarians (Mennonites, Dunkers, etc.) whose acquaintance has or has not already been made, at meetings, 'singings,' and congregational gatherings, in the devotional service for announcements and general talks not of a divine nature.

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nonites under Menno Simons, the Amish division, and then proceeds with a detailed description of the Amish of today, their home-life, dress, church services, education, special celebrations, etc. At the time of publication, Bachman estimated that there were eighteen Old Order congregations in the Lancaster County section, with a total membership of about 1700. The religious census of 1936 states that there were at that time in the entire country 100 Old Order congregations, with nearly 10,000 members.

3. This linguistic phenomenon was first pointed out in a stimulating article by H. Penzl, 'A Pennsylvania German "Sprachinsel" near Arthur, Illinois,' *'S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck* (The Allentown *Morning Call*—hereafter abbreviated: *Eck*), Mar. 12, 1938.

4. Cf. J. W. Frey, 'The English of the Pennsylvania Germans in York County, Pa.,' *Eck*, May 18, 1940; 'Some Observations on Bilingualism in Eastern York County,' *Eck*, Feb. 15, 1941; 'The Phonemics of English Loan Words in Eastern York County Pennsylvania Dutch,' *American Speech*, 17: 94-101 (Apr. 1942); H. Penzl, *op. cit.*

Amish High German is used mainly for preaching and praying. One can see at once that an Amishman speaks far less High German than Pennsylvania Dutch, and if he never holds a church office he may practically never discourse in High German, except to quote from the Bible at home. On the other hand, the church officers must be fairly well versed in the Scriptures (largely in the New Testament and Psalms) and be able to read long passages aloud, offer 'printed' prayers, and deliver lengthy sermons in High German. Two factors help preserve the active use of High German among all the Amish who are not church officers: Amish children receive some instruction in High German in the elementary school (the teacher may be asked by the congregation to teach the elements of reading and pronouncing during the lunch hour or at some other time outside of regular school class-hours, after which the Amish bishop continues the pupils in the more advanced German of the Scriptures); all the Amish, men, women, and children, sing hymns in High German. The latter occurs at least twenty-six times a year, as preaching service is held every other Sunday in a different home. Special occasions such as weddings, funerals, and the Sunday night 'singings' for the young people help to keep alive the German language of the old or 'slow' hymns and the new or 'fast' tunes.

THE DIALECT

Amish Pennsylvania Dutch is in general very much like the dialect spoken in other sections of eastern Pennsylvania by non-Amish groups, and it is readily understood by anyone from those regions who converses with an Amishman for the first time. There are a few distinguishing characteristics of the Amish dialect which are features to be found in Lancaster and York counties as a whole. A brief summary of Pennsylvania Dutch phonology follows. The primary phonemes are grouped according to their physiological categories of articulation.

Syllabics:

short vowels: high [ɪ, ʊ] mid [ɛ, ɔ] low [ɑ]
long vowels: high [i:, u:] mid [e:, o:] low back with rounding [ɔ:]
diphthongs: [ɑɪ], [ɑʊ] ([ɑ:ᵊ]), [ɔɪ][5]

Note: [ə] is a slurred vowel, shva; [ɒ] is a mid-low mixed vowel (vocalized *r*); [æ] (short and long) is an open phonetic variation of the [ɛ]-phoneme —it usually occurs before [ɒ].

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5. The diphthong [ɑʊ] ([ɑ:ᵊ]) in Pennsylvania Dutch is neither like English 'ou' in 'house' nor like German 'au' in 'Haus.' Historical and phonemic evidence, however, warrants its being phonemically analyzed as [ɑʊ]. Cf. J. W. Frey, 'Notes on the Diphthong *oi* in Pennsylvania Dutch,' *American Speech*, 18: 112-16 (Apr. 1943). To the list

Non-Syllabics:	Labial	Dental	Dorsal
stops: always voiceless			
aspirated fortes	[p]	[t]	[k]
unaspirated lenes	[b]	[d]	[g]
spirants: voiceless		[f, s, ʃ]	[h, x] ([x] velar, [ç] palatal)
voiced		[β] (bilabial [w] initially, labiodental [v] medially)	[j, ɤ]
affricates: voiceless		[ds], ([dʃ])	
nasals	[m]	[n]	[ŋ]
liquids		[l, r]	

A survey of these phonemes and their functional sets shows the following outstanding features of the phonetic structure of the Amish dialect: (1) [p, t, k] occur only initially and only before vowels; [t] does not occur in native words, but only in NHG (New High German) or E (English) loan-words. (2) [x, ɤ, ŋ] do not occur initially. (3) [β, ɤ, j, r] do not occur finally; final [r] is vocalized to [ɒ]. Certain correlations (historical and morphemic) exist between stops and spirants so that: [b] may be represented medially by [v], as in *halwer, hawwe*[6] [hɑlvɒ], [hɑvə] (but finally *halb, hab* [hɑlb, hɑb]); [g] may be represented medially by [ɤ], as in *saage* [sɔ:ɤə] (but finally *saag* [sɔ:g]), or by [j], as in *folye, barye* [fɔljə], [bɑrɪjə] (finally *folig, Barig* [fɔlɪg], [bɑrɪg]). The spirant [s] is

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of words containing *oi* mentioned in that article the author would like to add the following: *'s Ma(e)rre-oi* [mɑrəɔɪ, mærəɔɪ], pl. *-oyer* [-ɔɪɒ] 'cocoanut' (a compound of the more frequently occurring *Oi* 'egg' which, of course, is often found in such combinations as *Hinkel-oi* [hɪŋgəlɔɪ] 'chicken egg,' *Welschhinkel-oi* [wɛlʃhɪŋgəlɔɪ] 'turkey egg,' etc.); two compounds with *Moi,* viz.: *der Moi-abbel* [dɒ mɔɪɑb|], pl. *-ebbel* [-ɛb|] 'mandrake' and *die Moi-blumm* [dɪ mɔɪblʊm], pl.-*blumme* [-blʊmə] 'lily of the valley'; the rather rare verb *moye* [mɔɪə], past participle *g(e)moit* [g(ə)mɔɪd] 'to go maying, celebrate the first of May by picnicking' (Middle High German mei(g)en, New High German *maien*); *loiere* [lɔɪɒrə], past participle *g(e)loiert* [g(ə)lɔɪɒd] 'to coo' (as of infants)—this may be a variant of what M. B. Lambert, *Pennsylvania-German Dictionary* (1924), records as *leiere* (MHG līren, NHG *leiern*), which means 'to harp on one string, hum a monotonous tune, thrum or drone an air'; *aaroihe* [ɔ̃:rɔɪə], past participle *aag(e)roiht* [ɔ̃:g(ə)rɔɪd] 'to baste'—a compound verb from *Roih* 'rɔw'; and the loan-verbs *groye* [grɔɪə], past part. *gegroit* [gə'grɔɪd], *vendu-groiere* [fɛndʊgrɔɪɒrə], past part. *vendu-gegroiert* [fɛndʊgəgrɔɪɒd] 'to cry or auctioneer at a vendue, public sale,' *der Roiher, Fisch-Roiher* [dɒ rɔɪɒ, fɪʃrɔɪɒ] 'American bittern, great blue heron, green heron, black-crowned night heron, belted kingfisher.' Cf. also J. W. Frey, 'Early Grammatical Notes on Pennsylvania German,' *Eck,* Aug. 14, 1943.

6. Note that dialect words are given in an accepted popular orthography (based on German sound-values), followed by phonetic transcription.

represented initially by [ʃ] before [b, d, g, β, m, n, l, r] and medially before [b, d, g], as in *Schnee, mischde* [ʃne:, mɪʃdə]. English loan-words taken into the dialect regularly follow the phonemic patterns of native words.[7] In many cases unvoicing of or substitution for the original consonant is made. The vowels of loan-words usually remain, or are relic pronunciations from an earlier period of borrowing; the latter statement is evident in Amish loan-words having *a* before *r*, where the *a* is pronounced [æ:] and the *r* vocalized to [ɒ], e.g. *Paerdi* [pæ:ɒdɪ] 'party,' *Kaer* [kæ:ɒ] 'car.'

Historically, an examination of the dialect sounds is incomplete because of the lack of material on the intermediate steps (such as the dialects of the Palatinate) between MHG (Middle High German) and PaD (Pennsylvania Dutch). A comparison, however, of the dialect vowels with their MHG correspondents shows the following outstanding features: (1) The regular lowering of the MHG high vowels i, u, ü and the mid vowels e, o, œ to short [ɑ] in PaD under influence of the following r, e.g. PaD *Schtarn* [ʃdɑn], *darrich* [dɑrɪç], *Karreb* [kɑrəb] for MHG stërn, durch, korp; an alternate pronunciation is also heard with the low front vowel [æ] and the r vocalized to [ɒ], e.g. PaD *Schtaern* [ʃdæ:ɒn], *daerrich* [dærɪç], *Kaerreb* [kærəb]—this is especially true in words where the MHG open e has become long e in NHG, e.g. PaD *haer, waer* [hæɒ], [wæɒ] for MHG hër(e), wër NHG her, wer. (2) The complete disappearance of the [r]-sound after short [ɑ] when followed by a dental, e.g. PaD *karz* [kɑds], *Schtarn* [ʃdɑn] for MHG kurz, stërn; again there is an alternate pronunciation heard in which the vowel is [æ] and the r is vocalized, e.g. PaD *Schtaern* [ʃdæ:ɒn], *Haersch* [hæ:ɒʃ] for MHG stërn, hirz. (3) The regular development of a svarabhakti vowel between [r] and a labial or velar ([ə] before labials, [ɪ] before velars), e.g. PaD *Farreb* [fɑrəb], *Karrich* [kɑrɪç] for MHG varwe, kirche.[8] Monophthongization

7. Cf. J. W. Frey, *American Speech*, 17: 94-101.

8. These three outstanding features of Pennsylvania Dutch phonology were first noted particularly by A. F. Buffington, *op. cit.*, and in several other places (see Springer, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f., bibliographical items 1-6). A. L. Shoemaker, *Studies on the Pennsylvania German Dialect of the Amish Community in Arthur, Illinois*, an abstract of a Ph.D. thesis (typescript, v, 107 pp.), Univ. of Ill., 1940, says (p. 4): 'For Arthur Amish only feature (2) is valid. The MHG high vowels and the mid vowels mentioned are lowered to the short [ɑ]-sound only before MHG r plus a dental. Before MHG r plus a velar there is an [ɪ]-development. As before the dental, the r disappears, but in this case a diphthong [ɑɪ] results, e.g. Arthur Amish [dɑɪç] < [dɑrɪç] MHG durch. There are only a very few speakers who use [dɑrɪç]. There is no development of a vowel between an r plus a labial nor are the MHG vowels lowered to short [ɑ]. Here, as before r plus a dental, the r disappears and long [ɑ:] develops, e.g. Arthur Amish [kɑ:b] MHG korp, or else the MHG vowels may become [æ:] and the r is vocalized to [ɒ], e.g. Arthur Amish [kæ:ɒb] MHG korp.' These same special phonological features

of the MHG diphthongs is similar in PaD to that of NHG; on the other hand, the MHG monophthongs ī, ū are the diphthongs [ɑɪ], [ɑ:ᵊ] in PaD. The diphthong [ɔɪ] occurs in a comparatively small number of words (see footnote 5) and represents MHG ei, ou (öu), īe (ī), as in: PaD *Moi* [mɔɪ], *Hoi* [hɔɪ], *Woih* [wɔɪ] for MHG meige, hou (höu), wīe (wīhe).

Some characteristics of the consonantal system are: PaD [b-, d-, g-] generally represent MHG b- and p + consonant, d- and t-, g- and k + consonant respectively: e.g. PaD *ball* [bɑl] 'soon,' *Blans* [blɑns] 'plant,' *Dach* [dɑx] 'roof,' *Daag* [dɔ:g] 'day,' *Gans* [gɑns] 'goose,' *glee* [glē:] 'small' for MHG balde, phlanze, dach, tac, gans, klein(e). PaD [-j-] represents MHG medial g after l, r: e.g. PaD *folye, barye* (with an [ɪ]-svarabhakti) [fɔljə], [bɑrɪjə] for MHG volgen, borgen. PaD [ʃb, ʃd] in all positions represent MHG sp, st in all positions: e.g. PaD *Haschbel* [hɑʃbəl] 'reel,' *Schtee* [ʃdē:] 'stone' for MHG haspel, stein. PaD initial [ʃ] before [l, m, n, w] represents MHG initial s before l, m, n, w: e.g. PaD *Schloof* [ʃlo:f] 'sleep,' *schmeisse* [ʃmɑɪsə] 'to throw,' *Schnall* [ʃnɑl] 'buckle,' *Schwans* [ʃwɑns] 'tail' for MHG slāf, smīzen, snalle, swanz. PaD [-ɤ-] represents MHG medial g in intervocalic position: e.g. PaD *saage* [sɔ:ɤə] 'to say' for MHG sagen.

The morphological and syntactical features which characterize Amish PaD are as follows: (1) The diminutive suffix is *-li,* plural *-lin;* e.g. *Grischtkindli* [grɪʃdkɪndlɪ] 'Christmas gift,' plural *Grischtkindlin* [grɪʃdkɪndlɪn] (other regions have diminutives ending in *-che, -el* and other variants). (2) The adjective ending for the plural nominative and accusative (and often the dative by analogy) in the strong and weak declensions is *-i* in Amish PaD; e.g. *alti Schuh* [ɑldɪ ʃu:] 'old shoes,' *die alti Schuh* [dɪ ɑldɪ ʃu:] 'the old shoes,' *mei alti Schuh* [mɑɪ ɑldɪ ʃu:] 'my old shoes' (other sections have the ending *-e* [ə] in the plural). (3) The second person nominative plural of the personal pronoun is *dihr* [di:ɒ], unstressed *der* [dɒ] (other regions have *ihr* [i:ɒ] or *nihr* [ni:ɒ], unstressed *ner* [nɒ]). (4) The feminine dative singular of the demonstrative adjective and pronoun 'this' is *darre* [dɑrə] or *denne* [dɛnə] (note that *denne* is also dative plural throughout PaD). (5) The plural verb endings of the present indicative in Amish PaD are *-e* [ə], *-e(t)* [ə(d)], *-e* [ə]; the second person plural of *hawwe* [hɑvə] 'to have' and *sei* [sɑ̃ɪ] 'to be' may have the ending *-t,* viz: *dihr hen(t)* [hɛn(d)], *sin(t)* [sɪn(d)] or *seid* [sɑɪd].

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noted by Shoemaker had already been included, though not systematically arranged and analyzed, in a study by Ruth (*née*) Bender, *A Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect as Spoken in Johnson County, Iowa,* M.A. thesis, Univ. of Iowa, 1929, typescript, 78 pp.

(The second person plural of the verb varies in the different sections of the dialect.) (6) The plural imperative ends in *-et* [əd], e.g. *kummet!* [kʊmət] 'come!' (other dialect regions have *-e* [ə], or *-en* [ən], or *-t* [d], as in *kumme, kummen,* or *kummt*). (7) The prefix *ge-* [gə] of past participles has syncope of the *e* [ə] before [f, j, l, m, n, r, s, ʃ, w] and vowels; e.g. PaD *g'funne* [gfʊnə] NHG *gefunden,* PaD *g'yaagt* [gjɔ:gd] NHG *gejagt,* PaD *g'lese* [gle:sə] NHG *gelesen,* PaD *g'meent* [gme:nd] NHG *gemeint,* PaD *g'numme* [gnʊmə] NHG *genommen,* PaD *g'risse* [grɪsə] NHG *gerissen,* PaD *g'sehne* [gse:nə] NHG *gesehen,* PaD *g'schpielt* [gʃbi:ld] NHG *gespielt,* PaD *g'west* [gwɛsd] NHG *gewesen,* PaD *g'eegt* [ge:gd] NHG *geeggt* (other regions have this syncope only before [f, s, ʃ]). (8) The verb *kaafe* [kɔ:fə] 'to buy' has two past participles, *gekaaft* [gə'kɔ:fd] or *kaaft* [kɔ:fd]. (9) Of the preterite-present verb *selle* [sɛlə] or *solle* [sɔlə] 'should' and of the verb *welle* [wɛlə] or *wolle* [wɔlə] 'want to,' the more frequently heard infinitives (and likewise the whole plural of the present indicative, and also the past participle) are *solle* and *welle;* in the preterite subjunctive forms, however, the choice is generally reversed so that one hears more frequently *ich sett* [ɪç sɛd] 'I should' (plural *mer sette* [mɒ sɛdə]) and *ich wott* [ɪç wɔd] 'I would' (plural *mer wotte* [mɒ wɔdə]). (10) In the past tense the modals have the past participle which is like the infinitive in form, even when no other verb is dependent, e.g. *ich hab misse* [ɪç hɑb mɪsə] 'I had to,' *ich hab net kenne* [ɪç hɑb nɛd kɛnə] 'I was not able to,' *sie hot net welle* [sɪ hɔd nɛd wɛlə] 'she did not want to,' etc. (other sections, especially in the eastern dialects, have *ich hab gemisst, ich hab net gekennt, sie hot net gewollt,* as in Standard German).

AMISH HIGH GERMAN

As has been noted, the Amish use High German almost exclusively for preaching and praying at the regular fortnightly *G'mee* [gmẽ:] 'church service' or on special occasions. Sermons in High German (intermixed with dialect) consist largely of memorized Scriptural passages and lengthy elaborations upon them. These passages are taken almost entirely from *'s Teschdement* [s tɛʃdə'mɛnd] 'The New Testament' or the Book of Psalms, since the Old Testament and Apocryphal Books are not read at a worship service.[9] The prayers that are offered by the ministers during the service are lengthy liturgical prayers read from a small devotional book called *Christenpflicht* ('Christian Duty'). This collection of prayers

9. The word *Biwwel* [bɪvl̩] or *Biewel* [bi:vl̩] (German *Bibel*) includes both the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha; cf. Shoemaker, *op. cit.* (thesis), p. 70.

for different occasions, and instructions for the Christian life, was first printed in this country in 1745.[10]

Probably the most striking feature of AHG (Amish High German) is that all the unstressed endings that have been weakened or dropped entirely in the dialect are still retained in full. The influence of Scriptural German and hymn singing is very apparent here. In the dialect, the substantive, adjectival, and verb ending *-e* [ə] usually represents an original MHG -en, -in (and NHG *-en*); e.g. PaD *Buwe* [bu:və] 'boys,'[11] *die groosse Baem* [dɪ gro:sə be:m] 'the big trees,' *schlofe* [ʃlo:fə] 'to sleep,' *mir-sie schlofe* [mi:ɒ-sɪ ʃlo:fə] 'we-they sleep,' *g'schlofe* [gʃlo:fə] 'slept' (past participle) for MHG buoben, die grōẓen böume, slāfen, wir-si(e) slāfen, geslāfen, NHG *Buben, die großen Bäume, schlafen, wir-sie schlafen, geschlafen.* Likewise, the ending -e in MHG and NHG has disappeared for the most part in PaD; e.g. PaD *Lieb* [li:b] 'love' MHG liebe NHG *Liebe.* In AHG both of the original ending-types described above are retained. The ending *-e* in AHG is generally pronounced [e] or [ɪ], similar to the pronunciation heard among Austrian Germans, and not the [ə] advocated in Standard German. This is especially true in singing, where the ending may often be [e:::::] in a long drawn-out musical syllable. The following brief list of typical examples will illustrate the matter of endings in APaD (Amish Pennsylvania Dutch) and AHG:

MHG	NHG	AHG	APaD
dīn	*deine* (nom. sg. fem.)	*deine* [dɑɪnɐ]	*dei* [dɑɪ]
dīnen	*deinen* (dat. pl.)	*deinen* [dɑɪnən]	*deine* [dɑɪnə]
liebe	*Liebe*	*Liebe* [li:ve, li:vɪ][12]	*Lieb* [li:b]
nëmen- genomen	*nehmen- genommen*	*nehmen* [ne:mən]- *genommen* [gə'nɔmən, ge'nɔmən]	*nemme* [nɛmə]- *g'numme* [gnʊmə]

10. Bachman, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 f.

11. Many PaD words in *-e* having a corresponding form in *-e* in NHG can be explained by virtue of the existence in early NHG (and today in compounds and special forms) of parallel morphemes ending in *-en*: e.g. PaD *Backe* [bɑgə] 'cheek' MHG backe NHG *Backe, Backen;* PaD *Haahne* [hɔ:nə] 'rooster' MHG han, hane NHG *Hahn* (but *Hahnenfeder, -kamm, -schrei*); PaD *Weide* [wɑɪdə] 'willow' MHG wīde NHG *Weide* (but *Weidenbaum*), etc. Cf., among others, Priebsch and Collinson, *The German Language,* Macmillan, N.Y., 1940, pp. 153-79, on the historical development of substantive inflection.

12. For the correlation between the labial stops and labial spirants (in this case [b] and [v]), see J. W. Frey, *American Speech,* 17: 94-101, especially p. 96.

ouge	*Auge*	*Auge* [ɔ:ɤe]	*Aag* [ɔ:g]
wären	*waren*	*waren* [warən, warn]	*wa(a)re* [warə, wɔ:ɒrə][13]

Certain vowels and consonants in AHG are pronounced differently from Standard German because of the constant influence of an essentially dialect phonemic system upon them. The orthographic symbols *ö* and *ü* represent umlaut but not rounding in AHG, and they are therefore pronounced [e:, i:] when long, [ɛ, ɪ] when short:[14] e.g. *fröhlich* [fre:lɪç] 'joyous,' *zwölf* [dswɛlf] 'twelve,' *Güte* [gi:de] 'blessings,' *Sünde* [sɪnde] 'sin.' The diphthongs *eu* and *äu* are consistently pronounced [ɑɪ],[15] as in: *Freud* [frɑɪd] 'joy,' *Häuser* [hɑɪsɒ] 'houses.' The long German [a:] is replaced by [ɑ] or the dialect [ɔ:] (see footnote 14) in reading, but it is pronounced [a:] in singing: e.g. *Tag* [tɑg, tɔ:g, dɑg, dɔ:g] 'day'; *VA-ter* (when sung, first syllable lengthened) [fa::::dər] 'father.' The influence of an *r,* now vanished or vocalized, on a preceding vowel (especially the MHG high vowels i, u, ü and mid vowels e, o, œ) is noticed in AHG as well as in the dialect (where all of these vowels become simply short [ɑ]). For instance, in AHG the following words are often pronounced as indicated: *wird* [wæɒd, wɑd], *Herr* [hɑr],[16] *durch* [dɑrç, dɑrɪç], *Wort* [wɑrd, wɑd, word]. In singing, these vowels are not lowered as much in a long musical syllable but tend to be very open; thus, the following examples when stretched out over a series of notes have the indicated pronunciations: *VA-TER* (both syllables lengthened) [fɑ::::dɛ::::r], *durch* [dɔ::::rç], *Wort* [wɔ::::rd].

The vowels in unstressed syllables do not suffer in pronunciation in AHG as much as in the dialect. For instance, there is no syncope of the

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13. In the PaD dialect of the eastern counties (i.e. Lehigh, Berks, etc.) one often hears the plural form *waarn* [wɔ:ɒn].

14. These are the regular American-German pronunciations and were certainly prevalent in the 18th and 19th centuries among Germans in Pennsylvania. Note the following interesting excerpts from the H. Mühlenberg-B. J. Schipper *Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch* (Lancaster, Pa., William Hamilton, 1812), 'The Rudiments of the German Language': p. 1, under the letter *a,* 'but in this country and in many provinces of Germany they pronounce it like *a* in *fall,* as, *Knabe;* and in consequence of this they will pronounce *h* like *haw, k* like *kaw,* instead of *hah,* and *kah';* p. 2, under *ö,* 'This diphthong, whether long or short, is sounded like *e* in *her* . . .'; also p. 2, under *ü,* 'The true sound of this diphthong is not to be found in the English language, it corresponds with the French *u;* but in this country and some parts of Germany it is sounded like *ee* in *feet,* when long, as *Schüler;* when short like *i* in *pin,* as *Küche.*'

15. Cf. Mühlenberg-Schipper, *op. cit.,* p. 2, under *eu* and *äu,* 'These characters have no equal sound in the English, the nearest is *oi* in *noise,* as *deutsch, Häuser;* but in this country they pronounce them more like *ei* in *height.*'

16. The [r] in these transcriptions is the type found in general American English, sometimes indicated by [ɚ].

e in the prefix *ge-* of past participles: e.g. AHG *gefunden* [gə'fundən, ge'fundən] APaD *g'funne* [gfunə], AHG *gehalten* [gə'haldən, ge'haldən] APaD *g'halde* [kaldə]; compare here also words with the prefix *be-*: AHG *behalten* [bə'haldən, be'haldən] APaD *b'halde* [paldə].

The consonants in AHG are generally pronounced according as the Scriptural orthography indicates, but with certain reservations under influence of the dialect consonantal phonemic structure. For example, in the dialect [p, t, k] occur only before syllabics—in all other instances we have [b, d, g], which are voiceless unaspirated lenes. This pattern is transformed to the HG, viz: *Kinder* [kındər, kınər], *krank* [grɑŋg], *Christus* [grıʃdəs]. Moreover, German *pf* (= PaD [b] + consonant initially or [b] medially and finally, but [p] + vowel initially) is pronounced [b] when initial before a consonant or in final position in AHG: e.g. *pflegen* [ble:ɤən], *Kopf* [kɔb]. Medially, however, *pf* is usually pronounced as spelled: *Schöpfer* [ʃɛbfər̃]. When initial before a vowel it is pronounced as [p]: *Pfingsttag* [pıŋʃdɔ:g]. The spirants have no special peculiarities except that *s* is always voiceless, as in the dialect, and the German *b*, when intervocalic, is pronounced [v] (the dialect phoneme [β] is generally [w-] initially, [-v-] medially) in accordance with the dialect phonemic pattern for the spirants: *Lieb'* [li:b], but *Liebe* [li:ve, li:vı]. The combination *st* is always [ʃd] in all positions: *Stimme* [ʃdıme], *Pfingsten* [pıŋʃdən], *bist* [bıʃd]. The only exception to the latter statement is the case where *-t* has been added as an ending to a verb whose stem ends in *-s(s)*: e.g. *heißt* [haısd] from *heißen;* but in Biblical German the ending is almost always *-et,* so that the form is *heißet* [haısəd].

The *r* is an interesting case. In the dialect it is consonantal (single-tap or American type, depending on the individual speaker) when initial or intervocalic; medially before a consonant or in final position it is generally vocalized to the mid-low mixed vowel [ɒ]. In AHG, however, there is a strong tendency to pronounce *r* in the American fashion in all positions; this is especially true in hymn-singing. In fact, the Amish use this same [r] in their PaD to a greater extent than is heard in the eastern counties. In all probability the encroachment of strong American English environs is responsible for this linguistic situation.

It might be well to add at this point a word about the number of English loan-words used by the Amish. In their PaD they employ a great many (as is the case for the dialect on the whole), although in most of the popular and ridiculing accounts of PaD the percentage of English loan-words is always grossly exaggerated. Amish High German, on the other hand, contains virtually no English words. There may be a few

loan-translations or loan-constructions here and there, but the very nature of the subject excludes the use of borrowed words. At one of the services attended, only one English word was used during the entire four hours! It was the verb [kʌldɪwe:də] 'to cultivate'—a very expressive and highly important term to farmers.

In preaching, Amish ministers elaborate at great length on the gospel lesson in a combination of HG and dialect. They repeat memorized passages time and again, quote familiar verses such as the 23d Psalm, John 3: 16, etc. It is apparent from this fact that syntactical constructions foreign to those of the dialect are usually wholly borrowed from the Scriptures. Thus, an Amishman would always say *Gottes Sohn,* in the genitive case; to say *'m Gott sei Soh'* or *'m Gott sei Bu'* (the regular dialect dative construction to indicate possession) would be nearly as heretical as shaving one's beard after becoming a member of the church!

The use of the same form in the nominative and accusative of all inflected parts of speech save personal pronouns follows the regular dialect construction; an occasional *den* [dɛn] is heard for the masculine singular accusative of the definite article instead of the usual *der* [dɒ]. The name *Jesu Christi* [je:sʊ grɪʃdɪ], which occurs so frequently during the course of a sermon, is actually in the genitive, but it seems to be employed for any case. Thus, the following are typical: (as a nominative) *unser Herr, Jesu Christi, hot g'saagt . . .* [ʊnsɒ hɑr je:sʊ grɪʃdɪ hɔd gsɔ:gd]; (as an accusative) *mer sette Jesu Christi liewen* [mɒ sɛdə je:sʊ grɪʃdɪ li:vən]; (as a dative) *selli Warte, wu vum Jesu Christi kumme . . .* [sɛlɪ wɑdə wʊ fʊm je:sʊ grɪʃdɪ kʊmə], etc. In other words, no regard is made for the original Latin case endings of this name except when reading from the printed text.

Services of worship among the Old Order Amish are held bi-weekly, in the morning, in the homes of the various members of their particular church district.[17] Benches are arranged for the congregation and a dinner of 'schnitz' pies, pickles, cold cuts, beets, coffee, jelly and bread is previously prepared and is consumed by the entire group at the close of the service. The service itself lasts on the average about four hours, running in somewhat the following order: (1) sometime after 8 A.M. the congregation is seated, men and women separated, and the members sing a hymn or two; (2) after this, the ministers come out of the *Abroot* [ɑbro:d] 'council meeting' (in another room in the house) and the

17. The church district is sometimes called [dɪ kæ:ɒ] (plural [kæ:ɒrə]) by the Amish. The etymology of this word is uncertain. Might it be from *g'heere* [kæ:ɒrə] 'to belong' (= German *gehören*)?

Lobg'sang [lo:bgsɑŋ] 'Hymn of Praise' is sung; (3) one of the ministers arises and delivers the first discourse, from a half an hour to an hour long, at the end of which he calls upon the people to pray; (4) all kneel and pray silently; (5) after arising, all remain standing while the *Aarmediener*[18] [ɔ:ɒmədi:nɒ] (German *Armendiener*) reads the Scripture Lesson for the day;[19] (6) members resume their seats and the main sermon, an hour or more in length, is delivered; (7) near the end of his sermon the minister sits down and at its conclusion he invites the other ministers to give *Zeignis* [dsɑɪgnɪs] (= German *Zeugnis*) 'testimony,' a brief statement of approval of what has been said; (8) here follows a lengthy prayer read from the *Christenpflicht;* (9) at the conclusion of the prayer the benediction is pronounced and there follows a short 'business meeting' for church members only.[20]

Sermons may be delivered with the 'pulpit intonation' ascribed to ministers in general, but among the Amish they are often either 'auctioneered' or 'chanted.' By an 'auctioneering intonation' the writer means the type found among PaD auctioneers who raise the voice to a rather high pitch at the end of each phrase or unit clause.[21] When a sermon is chanted it is usually somewhat softer and generally follows the second Gregorian Tone. Sometimes there is a break in the midst of chanting the sermon, and the minister assumes again his natural voice at speaking pitch.

In direct connection with the chanting of sermons we note in passing that the old 'slow' hymns of the Amish have their origin in the Gregorian Chants or Plainsong.[22] These older tunes, texts of which are contained

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18. In the Amish church organization each district normally has three ranks of church officials: a bishop, two ministers and a deacon. In the dialect the bishop is called either the *Vellichdiener* [fɛlɪçdi:nɒ] (German *Völliger Diener*) or *Bischof* [bɪʃɔf] (sometimes *Bischop* [bɪʃɔb]). His office is designated *'s Bischofamt* [bɪʃɔfɑmd]. The two ministers are called the *Diener zum Buch* [di:nɒ dsʊm bʊx] and the deacon is called the *Aarmediener* [ɔ:ɒmədi:nɒ]. A person holding one of these offices is said to be *am Denscht* or *im Denscht* [ɑm/ɪm di:nʃd]. All of them are known as *Breddicher* [brɛdɪçɒ] (German *Prediger*). Cf. A. L. Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

19. The portion of the Scriptures which is read on the different Sundays is prescribed and listed in a small booklet which is given to every member of the church. This booklet is entitled: *Ein Register von Lieder und Schriften die in der Amischen Gemeinde gebraucht werden.*

20. For a more detailed account of the Amish worship services see C. G. Bachman, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-40.

21. This is not the same as the more melodic auctioneering chants common among Southern tobacco auctioneers.

22. Cf. John Umble, 'The Old Order Amish, their Hymns and Hymn Tunes,' *The Journal of American Folklore,* 52: 82-95 (1939); Joseph W. Yoder, *Amische Lieder,* Yoder Pub. Co., Huntingdon, Pa. [some 115 pages of Amish hymns with added rudiments of music designed to teach unaccompanied singing by shaped notes]; see also

in the *Ausbund*,[23] are far more interesting musically and linguistically than the newer and faster hymns of the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* ('Undenominational Song Book').[24] The pronunciation of the German in these hymns is the same as that used in preaching, allowing, of course, for the vowel lengthening necessitated by long musical syllables. The latter is especially noticeable in chanting, which is always done in unison by the Amish. The outstanding consonantal pronunciation in singing is that of the [r], which when prolonged sounds very strongly American, thus: [ə:::::r].

In conclusion we may say that the linguistic problems presented by the 'triple-talk' (PaD-HG-English) of the Old Order Amish are many. Each of the three tongues influences the other two to some degree. The HG, probably used least of the three, has curiously persisted in the worship service and shows many traces of the dialect, except where phrases have been taken wholly from the Scriptures. This article has attempted to point out only some of the more general aspects of the whole picture. Only a very careful linguistic analysis of these three languages, taken individually and collectively, will enable us to give a fuller and more reliable description of the speech of this interesting socioreligious group. But little has been done in their dialect, nothing regarding their HG and English. A careful study of the HG alone would require at least a year's regular attendance at the worship services and a rather narrow phonetic transcription of many sermons, prayers, readings, including the pronunciation of every Biblical place- and personal-name. And an exhaustive treatise on Amish hymnology is yet to be written.

In the broader sense, research studies such as are mentioned above will not only throw light upon the linguistic habits of one of America's most interesting yet least known religious sects, but will at the same time give us some clue to the status of the Anglo-German-Pennsylvania Dutch situation that certainly existed among all Pennsylvania Germans in the 18th and 19th centuries. The speech of the Amish can be regarded as the last stronghold in the struggle of the three tongues to maintain an

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C. H. Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 35 of the *Proceedings* of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Norristown, Pa., 1929, p. 256.

23. Until some years ago, the earliest dated edition of the *Ausbund* extant was that of 1583, although editions were known to have appeared in 1565 and 1569. By chance, an edition from 1564 was discovered in this country by Harold S. Bender, who describes it most interestingly in his article, 'The First Edition of the Ausbund,' *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 3: 147-50 (Apr. 1929). The first American edition was printed in 1742 in Germantown by Christoph(er) Saur (Sower).

24. First edition published in Lancaster in 1804.

existence in eastern Pennsylvania. It is the dogged determination and untiring persistence of the Amish that their belief and their clannish culture shall not perish, come what may in the modern world.[25] Witness the one glaring fact alone that nearly all Amish children of pre-school age cannot speak English! This is especially true of the first child in an Amish family, although the younger children sometimes know a little English before they enter the first grade.

As for the other Pennsylvania Germans, their chances of maintaining a threefold language culture began to fade out with the passing of the common school law in 1834 (with subsequent changes and amendments).[26] From then on there was a gradual decline in the German education of Pennsylvania, until even the German preaching of the early 20th century in rural churches has now become a thing of the past. It is unlikely that matters will follow a similar course with the Amish in the near future. The time is ripe, however, for a volume of work to be done on this group and it is hoped that the opportunity will not go unheeded.

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25. Cf. W. M. Kollmorgen, 'The Agricultural Stability of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,' *The American Journal of Sociology*, 49: 233-41 (Nov. 1943). This article grew out of an earlier pamphlet by the same author, viz: *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, 'Rural Life Studies,' no. 4 (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942).

26. Cf. Clyde S. Stine, 'The Pennsylvania Germans and the School,' ch. v, pp. 105-27, in *The Pennsylvania Germans*, ed. by Ralph C. Wood, Princeton, 1942.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER INTEREST IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

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THE PRESENT inquiry was undertaken in the belief that it might throw some light on a subject of linguistic investigation which has hitherto received little attention from students of the language, namely, on the kind and degree of interest which American newspapers and newspaper readers show in problems affecting the English language. For this purpose the files of three New York newspapers—the *Times,* the *Herald-Tribune,* and the *World-Telegram*—were examined for periods ranging from six months to one full year, for news items, special articles, editorials, and readers' letters on matters of language. It should, perhaps, be pointed out at once that these three newspapers represent an obvious selection as to the type of journalism subjected to this inquiry; an examination of a larger and more heterogeneous group of papers might yield somewhat different results in number and quality. Moreover, of the three newspapers mentioned, one, the New York *Times,* has consistently and over a period of many years shown a greater concern with problems of English usage than either of the other two. A fuller reader response to language matters is therefore to be expected from that newspaper. The writer believes, however, that the basic facts about the interest of American editors and readers in English language matters brought out by an examination of these three papers will prove equally true of a very much larger sampling of newspapers.

The method followed in this investigation was simple: the editorial, magazine, and news pages of the newspapers were scrutinized—the former carefully, the latter two in more cursory fashion—for news items, articles, or expressions of opinion on the English language. Book reviews and miscellaneous literary notes containing comment on the English language were excepted, as were also incidental and occasional references to the English language in other articles. The items collected were then arranged under the following heads: vocabulary, etymology, pronunciation, spelling, semantics, grammatical usage, and miscellaneous. News items and special articles dealing with some phase of English were classified separately as falling into a somewhat different category from editorial comment and readers' opinion.[1]

1. The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance he has received from two of his students, Mr. Seymour Lainoff and Miss Eleanor Stone, in assembling and checking some of the material presented here.

In the course of the year 1942 the New York *Times* published no less than 122 items of linguistic interest. Of these 18 were news items and six special articles—about which more hereafter. The remaining 97 consisted of 54 readers' letters and 44 editorials, the majority of the latter in the department entitled 'Topics of the Times.' When one considers the vast number of subjects available for comment in the course of a single year, one must conclude from the figures just given that questions affecting the English language, far from being the concern of a limited number of readers, are of considerable interest to the public in general. One result brought out by the tabulation of items in the other two newspapers was the fact that although the total number of items on the English language was much less than in the *Times,* the proportion of news stories and special articles to the total number of linguistic items, as well as of readers' letters to editorials, was approximately the same as in the *Times.*

To return to the *Times.* Of the various categories enumerated the two largest were those of vocabulary and pronunciation, the former with 32 items, the latter with 20. Of the items counted under the heading of vocabulary, 18 were editorials and 14 readers' comments. The two chief subjects of interest appear to be neologisms and diction generally. On the issues involved both editors and readers take a stand which indicates an appreciation of the resources of the language and an awareness of linguistic processes.

A detailed summary of the items included under the heading of vocabulary follows.

1. An editorial (Oct. 27) objecting to the verb *to implement* and to the noun *breakdown* (= 'classification') as ambiguous wartime creations. Another editorial (Nov. 28) noting, without regret, the passing of the two 'hard words' *ambivalence* and *schizophrenia,* but deploring the word *dichotomy,* which is unfortunately 'on the make.' The new verb *to by pass* is hailed as a 'colorful and muscular' addition to the language.

2. Two letters (Oct. 11, Oct. 25) expressing appreciation for the American term *fall* as against standard British *autumn.* The letters were called forth by a reference to these two terms in a special article a few days earlier (Sept. 27).

3. A letter (Jan. 25) sponsoring the verb *to quizzle* (< Quisling) as 'enriching the nuances of the language.'

4. An editorial (Jan. 16) suggesting that the expression *No. 1* used as an adjective is sure to live in the language. Various synonyms are described as 'pale and lumbering' beside it.

5. Two letters (Feb. 1, Feb. 10) deploring the use of the clipped form *Jap* as derogatory and as implying an underestimate of the enemy.

6. Five editorials (Feb. 18, Mar. 4, Mar. 19, May 12, Aug. 22) ridiculing various euphemisms—and pompous words generally—e.g. *mutual fiduciary plan* for 'installment buying,' *armada* for 'fleet,' *umbrella* for 'a protecting formation of airplanes,' and *footwear reconstructor* for 'shoemaker.'

7. Three letters (Mar. 22, June 7, June 21) satirizing the 'mastodon style' in official

English, as in Dean Landis' famous order ('Obscuration may be obtained by . . . the termination of the illumination'). Headline English is also criticized for its preference for such words like *annihilated, obliterated, pulverized* for the simple 'defeated' or 'destroyed.' The letters were apparently provoked by editorial references to the same subject (Mar. 14, Mar. 22).

8. Two editorial items (Aug. 2, Aug. 12) on Mr. A. P. Herbert's attack on the 'jungle English of the bureaucrats,' specifically on forms like *internee, evacuee,* and other members of the *-ee* family. Mr. Herbert's objection to *dehydrate* is, however, felt to be merely a personal grudge.

9. An editorial (May 26) and a letter (Nov. 5) recommending simplicity in vocabulary. Likewise, an editorial (Nov. 9) upholding the virtues of brevity in business correspondence.

10. An editorial (Sept. 22) and two letters (Sept. 27, Nov. 1) on the comic suffix *-eroo.* One reader defends its use as filling a need in the language.

11. A letter (Sept. 15) pointing out the tautology involved in the phrase 'the consensus of opinion'; another (Sept. 13) defending it by dictionary authority.

Related to these items on vocabulary were five others on the subject of etymology. These were all letters (Feb. 22, July 19, Aug. 25, Sept. 4, Nov. 1) pointing out the history or derivation of certain words and phrases: the legendary origin of the word *kangaroo;* the etymology of the adjective *unready* in the name Ethelred the Unready; the origin of the words *tea* and *pekoe,* and of the terms *Indian summer* and *the new order.*

On the subject of pronunciation the ratio of editorial to reader comment is sharply reversed: out of a total of 20 items 18 are readers' letters and only two editorials. It would seem that the ordinary newspaper reader finds a mispronunciation more provocative of criticism than a blunder in vocabulary or an error in grammar. The most frequent complaint of the letter writers is the faulty pronunciation of radio announcers. Indeed, so persistent is this complaint that the manager of one radio network feels called upon to write a letter (Feb. 22) assuring the public that the broadcasting companies are doing all they can to avoid mistakes in broadcast pronunciation. Recurring in several letters is the thought that the radio is displacing the dictionary as an authority in pronunciation. 'Dictionaries are all *passé,*' one writer laments, 'the mike's the thing!' Comments on cases of disputed pronunciation are second in importance.

The following is a detailed summary of the more important items in this group.

1. Eight letters (Jan. 18, Feb. 8, Mar. 8, Apr. 5, May 17, Aug. 30, Dec. 15) criticizing radio speakers' pronunciation of individual words: *controversial* ([sɪ] instead of [ʃ]), *acquiescence* ([-kwaɪ-] instead of [-kwɪ]), *rationing* ([ræ-] instead of [reɪ-]), *theatre* pronounced 'theayter.' One letter condemns the voicing of the *t* in *city;* another, the pronunciation [u:] for [ju] in *new,* and 'the changing of *r* into *aw.*' The pronunciation of *anti-* with a 'long *i*' is described as an offence to the educated ear. An editorial

(Apr. 7) criticizes the radio 'flattening' of *e* into *a*, as in *the satting sun, paninsula.*

2. Five letters (Jan. 11, Jan. 18, Jan. 25, Jan. 27, May 17) show an interest in the correct pronunciation of foreign names (specifically, in these cases, the pronunciation of Spanish place names). One editorial (June 17) explains the two possible pronunciations of *Sevastopol*: the Russian and the English, or rather the anglicized.

3. Three letters (Dec. 9, Dec. 13, Apr. 7) deal with cases where common usage is more or less in conflict with the pronunciation recommended in works of reference, as in the position of the accent in *precedence* and *address*. One correspondent indicates the possible trend in this matter by observing that whenever authority is in conflict with the ordinary practice of 'countless thousands of shopgirls,' it is the former that will have to yield.

4. A letter (Dec. 7) complaining of the difficulty of encouraging correct pronunciation, and another (Aug. 22) proposing a less objectionable pronunciation of the abbreviation *Waacs*.

Only eight items dealt with spelling. An editorial (May 28) on the vagaries of English spelling takes occasion to point out that spelling is a 'fluid which time has frozen,' but that it is still subject to 'melting.' Another editorial (Nov. 18) deals with President Roosevelt's spelling of *generalissimo* with two *l*'s, and a third (Jan. 14) explains the preference for the English spelling *Joseph,* instead of *Josef* Stalin. A fourth editorial (Nov. 5), commenting on the spelling of Arabic place names with a *q,* instead of *qu* or *k,* protests against the invasion of traditional newspaper practice by 'academic' spelling. Four letters (Nov. 12, Nov. 15, Nov. 19, Nov. 22) deal with the correct spelling of *Guadalcanal.*

An interest in semantics, the borderline region between linguistics and psychology, is indicated by the eleven items counted under this head. Next to vocabulary and pronunciation this is the largest well-defined category commented upon. Because of the nature of the subject, the linguistic aspect of most of these items is generally incidental to other matters. Of the eleven entries on this subject six were editorials and five letters. Almost all of the editorials and one of the letters stressed the importance of interpreting words in terms not only of their intrinsic meaning, but also of the background against which they are used. All imply an awareness of the manipulation—proper or improper—of terms and epithets.

A summary of individual items follows.

1. An editorial (Feb. 4) on the connotation of words. Some popular connotations should be preserved even though they may be scientifically wrong (e.g. the word *snake*). Another editorial (Sept. 22) on word meanings in various contexts.

2. Three editorials (Feb. 28, Aug. 13, Sept. 29) on the meaning of certain widely-used terms (*labor, democratization, intellectual*). A similar letter on *liberal, liberalism* (Sept. 24).

3. An editorial (Oct. 26) on two overworked words, *treachery* and *sneak,* 'always applied to the enemy, never to us.'

4. A letter (Oct. 28) resenting the implication of the epithet *gouger* as applied to landlords. Another letter (July 23) challenging the use of the term 'concentration camp' as applied to camps for the internment of enemy aliens in this country, because of the European connotations of the term.

Problems of grammatical correctness are the subject of very few items. The question of the proper use of *who* and *whom* in certain cases, as in interrogative inversions or when the governing preposition stands at some distance from the pronoun, provides an occasion for a plea by one letter writer (Dec. 13) for the 'humanization' of syntax. The pleonastic use of prepositions (as in 'the problem *of* whether . . . ,' or 'a force of *between* 40,000 and 50,000 men'—both quoted from Prime Minister Churchill's speeches) forms the subject of two editorials (Jan. 30, Nov. 13). A third editorial calls attention to the distinction between *of* and *from* in the names of the Four Freedoms (Feb. 26). Another disapproves of the phrase 'a friend *of mine*' (instead of simply 'my friend') as exhibiting something 'loose and flabby' linguistically. The vulgar use of *like* for *as* or *such as* by radio broadcasters is attacked in one letter (Dec. 13), but defended in another (Dec. 17) on the ground that 'vulgarisms lose their vulgarity in direct proportion to their spoken usage.'

Among the sixteen items included under the general heading of miscellaneous—of which eleven were editorials and four readers' letters—several dealt with the differences between American and other varieties of English. A few showed an interest also in Basic English. Others were expressions of opinion on the current practice of designating government agencies by alphabetical abbreviations.

The individual items follow.

1. A letter (Feb. 22) advocating the employment of experts in dialect geography by government offices in order to determine the place of birth of persons without proper records.

2. An editorial (Sept. 8) commenting on the interest shown in the English language even in war-time. 'A man's mother tongue is among the first of his basic possessions and loyalties.'

3. Three editorial items (Mar. 21, July 16, Jan. 19) on the differences between British, American, and Australian English in vocabulary, 'accent,' and intonation. The point is made in the third of these editorials that the similarities of the various kinds of English far outweigh their differences.

4. An editorial (June 21) on 'basic pronunciation,' which is said to be as necessary as a basic vocabulary. The editorial, incidentally, is a retort to the charge made by Governor Talmadge of Georgia ('possessor of a southern accent'), that New Yorkers do not know how to speak English. Another editorial (June 22) on Mr. I. A. Richards' omission of certain words from his Basic English vocabulary.

5. An editorial (Aug. 19) criticizing the alphabetical designation *Waacs* as undignified, and two letters (Aug. 19, Aug. 22) suggesting changes. Two letters (Dec. 20, Dec. 27) also satirize the popularity of alphabetical abbreviation.

6. One editorial (Apr. 4) comments on the findings of a faculty committee of the American University in regard to the 'ten major faults' in the writing of government officials. Another editorial (Sept. 30) on bilingualism in the United States.

7. One editorial (July 13) on the uses of the semicolon; another (Aug. 11) on the origin of certain proverbs.

There were at least six special articles of linguistic interest in the New York *Times* in 1942. Three of them dealt with the perennial subject of laymen's interest in philology, slang and argot. One of the articles (Jan. 25) was a compilation of prison argot, another (Mar. 22) gave some illustrations of Australian slang, and the third (July 12) contained a glossary of unconventional terms used in the United States Navy. One special article (June 28) was on the subject of the stage voice. Two other items (Aug. 2, Sept. 27) consisted of comment on Mr. A. P. Herbert's objection to the verb *dehydrate,* and on the use of the terms *fall* and *autumn.*

The eighteen news items ranged over a wide field. Several (Feb. 19, Apr. 28, July 9, Aug. 28) dealt with the fate of the English language in Japanese-held territories. Four items (July 5, July 21, Aug. 13, Sept. 24) reported on the increased time devoted to the study of English in the schools of Haiti, Colombia, Ecuador, and Nicaragua. Comment on American fondness for slang formed the subject of one news item (Oct. 11), while another (July 28) reported on the use of Pidgin English by the aborigines of Australia. Other news items recorded the coinage of the words *prang* 'the crash landing of an aeroplane' (Apr. 12), and *geotechnology* (Nov. 6), which is defined as meaning 'the application of science and engineering to problems connected with the natural resources of the earth.' The suggestion that Americans call themselves *Usonans* is featured in another news item (Dec. 17), while two others (Nov. 1, Dec. 13) report a contest held to find an English equivalent for *kindergarten.* Among the terms suggested were *primer school, play class,* and *children's center.* A letter (Nov. 4) defended the use of the German loan word and pointed out the absurdity of excluding foreign borrowings from the language. The pronunciation of the word *reservoir* by President Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie was the subject of another news story (Oct. 31).

As I have indicated above, the items of linguistic interest in the other newspapers examined were not as numerous as those in the *Times.* For the half-year period investigated—January to June, 1942—the *World-Telegram* had seven letters and seven editorials, and the *Herald-Tribune* thirteen letters and six editorials. The subjects covered by them were very much the same as those in the *Times,* the chief topic of comment

being pronunciation. In the *World-Telegram* items of linguistic interest appeared frequently in the question-box department.

The treatment of matters of linguistic interest by American newspapers invites comparison with the treatment of the same matters by British and other English language newspapers. The difficulty of securing complete files of foreign newspapers for long periods of time prevented the compiler of this report from pursuing the subject further. But a reference to the index of the London *Times* for items on the English language seems to indicate that that newspaper devotes much less attention to the subject than the American newspapers examined. For the whole year 1942 the London *Times* had only eleven items listed under the general heading of the English Language. Of these two were editorials (one on legal punctuation, and the other on an aspect of grammatical usage), and nine readers' letters. By way of contrast, the New York *Times* index for the single month of April, 1943, listed no less than nine items: three letters, two editorials, and four news stories or special articles. Allowing for the difference in the kind of index represented in these two cases, as well as for the difference in the character of the two publications, the disparity in the manner of treatment of subjects of language interest still remains remarkable. An explanation of this difference is not called for at the present moment; it must, indeed, await a more complete investigation of English language items in both British and American newspapers.

THE NEW ELEMENT IN AMERICAN ENGLISH (II)

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ABORIGINE. This singular for *aborigines* is given in DAE as occurring here as early as 1858, six years earlier than it is recorded in the OED. Though the DAE regards this form as having originated here and pluses it accordingly, it is improbable that the term is an American contribution. *Aborigines,* a purely Latin word, came into English as early as 1547. At first it was used only in the plural. After some trying out of other forms—*aboriginal, aborigen, aborigin*—in search of a singular, the etymologically indefensible *aborigine* was settled upon. In the OED no effort was made apparently to exhibit the earliest use of this singular, but it occurs incidentally in a British example of 1864 s.v. *aborigines,* 1. The form is not mentioned in OED as being American.

ADDRESSEE. This term is interesting because it shows a terminal element that has often been utilized in making American words, only a few of which have survived. The following will serve as examples: *beateree, biographee, blackee, bloodee, bootee, canee, chariotee, civilizee, cloutee, coachee, coatee, compromisee, conferee, contestee, cooky, Cuffee, devisee, dictatee, distributee, draftee, dragee, Dutchee, employee, entertainee, escapee, evacuee, feedee, fillee, frockee, hackee, hazee, holdupee, honoree, makee, mannee, nappy, pardonee, petitionee, reservee, rushee, selectee, shirtee, smackee, soumarkee* (*soomarkee, sumarkee*), *stagee, stickee, tinnie, toppee, trainee, vestee.*

It is not my purpose to discuss individual terms such as these, many of them mere nonce formations, or even to suggest that all those here listed are of American origin. Certainly they are not all in the same category of *-ee* formations, but I lump them together here for convenience and to draw the attention of other students to this type of term. Formations of this kind appear to have been more popular here than in England, though the OED lists *hangee,* one who is hanged, with two examples, 1831, 1896, both British.

It is possible that this '-ee' fad may have been inspired, in part at least, by the common Dutch diminutive seen in *cooky,* and by the further fact that in some of the African languages words ending in consonants are likely either to add a vowel or drop the consonant. For example, a Kongo speaker pronounces the English word 'milk' as *miliki,* the Mende speaker pronounces 'bag,' 'boat,' 'court' as *begi, boti, koti.*[1]

1. I am indebted to Dr. L. D. Turner of Fisk University for this information about the African languages.

Moreover, this trick of pronunciation is by implication often associated with Negroes, as it is in the following passage written by Benjamin Franklin in 1787:

> They are pleased with the observation of a negro, and frequently mention it, that Boccarorra (meaning the white man) make de black man workee, make de horse workee, make de ox workee, make ebery ting workee; only de hog.

ALCALDE. There have appeared in American English a good many terms that are properly to be regarded as independent borrowings made in this country, and not as continuations in use here of words that had previously been used in England. The term *alcalde* illustrates this aspect of American English. The OED has a solitary example, 1666, of the use of the word by a British writer. It did not take firm hold in British usage, and much later, when Americans came in contact with the Spanish civilization in the west and southwest, this same term *alcalde* was borrowed again, this time by Americans from the Spanish of those regions.

It is unfortunate that the DAE so often fails to detect these American borrowings as being such, and to call attention to the way they entered American use. Instead, in the DAE *alcalde,* and many more words of this type, are treated as continuations here of terms that at an earlier time came into the English of England. Hereafter in this study no special attention will be given to terms of this type, other than to mention that their presence in American English is to be explained as the result of borrowings made over here from the same source as was utilized earlier—in some cases later—in a similar borrowing made in England.

ALEWIFE. A good starting place for the investigation of this word is afforded by the etymology of it given in the OED:

> [Corrupted from 17th c. *aloofe,* taken by some to be an American Indian name; according to others a literal error for Fr. *alose* a shad. Further investigation is required.]

The statement in the OED that *alewife* is a corruption of 17th c. *aloofe* appears to depend entirely on one example, from a contribution made by John Winthrop to *Philosophical Transactions.*[2]

The DAE, although it has evidence much earlier than 1678, was not

2. The DAE is in error in dating this example from Winthrop 1679. John Winthrop, Jr. died in 1676. His article from which the DAE quotes was written in 1662, and appeared in *Philosophical Transactions* for December, January, and February, 1678 (Vol. 12, No. 142). As it appeared in *Phil. Trans.* the article was much abbreviated, the essay never being printed in full until Fulmer Mood gave it in his article, 'John Winthrop, Jr., on Indian Corn,' in *The New England Quarterly* for March, 1937 (Vol. X, pp. 121-133). There is nothing in the complete article as given by Mood to shed the slightest light on 'aloofes,' which occurs twice. Unfortunately, in Mood's article the fish in question are in one place referred to as 'Mooses,' an obvious error which does not occur in the *Phil. Trans.,* where in printing the same passage from Winthrop the obviously correct form 'Alooses' is given.

able to throw any further light on the origin of *alewife*. The small type note in the DAE is as follows:

> Possibly adopted from an Indian name, but the form *aloofe*, sometimes cited in support of this, appears in only one source (quot. 1679) and is probably a misprint. Cf. ALLIZE.
>
> 'Alewife is called Alewhap, pl. alewhaps.—Conn.' (Chipman, *a*1870). 'In Maryland and Virginia they are called "old wives" ' (B. '77).

Not much assistance is obtained by complying with the DAE direction to 'Cf. ALLIZE.' Only one example occurs of 'allizes': '1637 MORTON *New Canaan* 89 There is a fish (by some called shadds, by some allizes,) that at the spring of the yeare passe up the rivers to spaune in the ponds.' Apparently the suggestion in DAE that *aloofe* is a misprint is based on the idea that the proper form was either *allize* or some other term not mentioned, possibly *alose*.

The latest Webster makes no further contribution to what is known about the possible or actual source of *alewife*, but repeats the suggestion that it may be from American Indian. It seems safe, without further ceremony, to dismiss the suggested Indian origin of *alewife*. No matter what the explanation of *aloofe* is, it is a chance form that nobody has ever been able to tie in with anything else. The likelihood that it is an Indian form seems remote.

Turning now to EDD, we find that *ale-wife* is recorded in that work in the sense: 'a local name of the Allice-shad, *Alosa communis*.' The only evidence given in EDD for this meaning is: '[Ale-wife, Alosa communis, SATCHELL].'

This evidence is certainly far from satisfactory, and merits examination. The best interpretation I am able to make of it is this: Early in 1879 Mr. Thomas Satchell, a member of the English Dialect Society, got out a provisional list of British fish names in the hope of securing additional terms of this kind. Just what form this provisional list was in I have no way of knowing. The fact that there was such a list in some form or another is stated in the seventh annual report of the Dialect Society found in the back of Volume 15 of the publications of the Society, Satchell being mentioned on page 6 of this report. In the eighth annual report Satchell is mentioned again as being at work on his fish names and fishing terms, and asking for the assistance of his fellow members in the Society. If Satchell ever completed his study and published it I am unaware of it.

Presumably, then, the unusual reference in EDD is simply an indication that Satchell had found the term *ale-wife* used locally as a British fish name, and had included it in 1879 in his provisional list. It may be added that in the bibliography to the OED the name of Thomas Satchell

appears and he is there credited with a work, *Provisional Index to a Glossary of Fish Names* 1879 (E.D.S.). This item implies clearly that Satchell's list was published in 1879, but, from what has been said above, it was apparently not published in the usual sense.

The problem now is, how did *ale-wife* get into British dialect use, to some extent at least, by 1879? Was it a term that, having originated in America certainly as early as 1633 (see the examples in DAE), worked its way back into British dialect use from this country? I see no way of demonstrating that such a thing could not have taken place. The Atlantic is not to be looked upon as a one-way street so far as linguistic influence is concerned. Certainly in more modern times American words have passed into British use to such an extent as to require no demonstration.

Or is *alewife* to be regarded as a word old in dialect use in England, despite the lateness of its being rounded up by Satchell, and was it brought as a fish name to this country by the early American colonists?

I am not at all able to answer these questions, but at present I am inclined to the view that the word was brought to this country by the first settlers. The very earliness of the American evidence, 1633, causes me to be suspicious of the word as a new creation. Within about a dozen years after the settlement began at Plymouth the word was written down in a record that has survived till this day. How much earlier the word was in actual use we have no way of knowing. The term deserves further investigation.

ALMIGHTY DOLLAR. No dictionary points out the fact, but the first use of this expression must be credited to Washington Irving. Albert Matthews in *Notes & Queries* for 18 March, 1911, p. 211, showed that the story, 'Creole Village,' in which Irving for the first time used 'almighty dollar,' appeared in print as early as November, 1836. The annual, *The Magnolia,* for which the story was written, was copyrighted in 1836, and was no doubt in existence in October, 1836, for *The Knickerbocker* for that month and year, pp. 489-494, had a notice of the forthcoming work.

ANGEL. Nothing is easier for the uninstructed reader, when he finds in his reading a term in American use in a sense similar to or identical with that which the same term has in British use, than to assume that the term in American use is a continuation of the use in Great Britain. Under the term *alcalde* I have pointed out the dangers of such a facile assumption, but under the entry 'angel' as it is given in the DAE another type of possibility for error is exhibited. The DAE editor in this case had before him some examples of the use of *angel* in the sense of money. He assumed that the term in this sense stemmed from an earlier British use of the same term with reference to a coin, and wrote the following

interesting definition: 'A former English coin of the value of ten shillings (Phillips, 1706); its equivalent in a bill or bills.'

It is odd that use should have been found in the definition for '(Phillips, 1706).' The insert is not at all informative to a reader who does not happen to know that in 1706 John Kersey brought out an edition of Edward Phillips' *New World of Words,* a dictionary the existence of which is no doubt unknown to most people. Why this edition of Phillips was cited in this connection is not obvious, since it states clearly that the British coin in 1706 was no longer in use. From dictionaries much more recent and authoritative than that of Phillips as revised by Kersey one has no trouble in ascertaining that there was once in circulation in England a coin known as an 'angel.' The OED says that it was last coined by Charles I; the *Century* is more explicit and says the coin was last struck by Charles I in 1634.

All the examples given in the DAE of the use of *angel* in the sense of a bill are from the diary of Samuel Sewall. In 1713 Sewall was on a committee to sign bills of public credit. On November 10, 1713, his committee was instructed to prepare 'two new Plates, & four Bills to be engraven on each of them, of such Sums, as they with the Treasurer shall think to be most convenient.' One of these plates was for a ten shilling bill. There had been in circulation earlier a ten shilling bill, on a 1702 plate, which had been extensively counterfeited. Consequently Sewall and the other members of his committee had a new plate prepared in 1713 at the head of which the words 'An Angel' appeared, though to get in these words the ornamental border around the inscription had to be broken. Why this expression 'An Angel' was used on the new bill is not clear. Perhaps some or all of the committee knew of the ten shilling coin called an angel and associated the ten shilling note with the ten shilling coin. Or possibly the committeemen had sufficient devoutness to trust that counterfeiters, who had operated previously on similar bills, might hesitate somewhat to tamper with a bill plainly labeled 'An Angel.'

Anyway, these new bills were regarded by Sewall as particularly appropriate for giving to his friends, and this he did with commendable generosity. The point of the entire discussion is that the existence of the British coin known as an 'angel' and being, for a part of its history, valued at ten shillings, might or might not have had anything to do with the naming of the note which Sewall and his friends had a hand in issuing. It is not likely that the Sewall bill of credit was the 'equivalent' of a piece of money that had not been coined in eighty years.[3]

3. *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.,* VIII (1902-1904), 353-356.

FOR THE DAE SUPPLEMENT: THE VOCABULARY OF 'SAM SLICK IN TEXAS'

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THE *Dictionary of American English* includes in its bibliography two books by 'Philip Paxton' (Samuel A. Hammett), *A Stray Yank in Texas* (N. Y., 1853) and *The Wonderful Adventures of Captain Priest* (N. Y., 1855). For some reason, however, the DAE does not use as a source a third book by Hammett, *Piney Woods Tavern; or, Sam Slick in Texas* (1858). Although Hammett has contributed a fair share of the words in the DAE and one of his books has recently been re-examined for words unobserved by the editors of the DAE,[1] he still proves to be the source of additional early Americanisms. The purpose of this paper is to point out some expressions in *Sam Slick in Texas* which (1) do not appear at all in the DAE; (2) are not given in the DAE in the particular sense indicated here; or (3) are given in the DAE, but only under more recent dates. In the case of four words (*bull, judy, pewter, quilting,* infra), though they may not properly belong in the DAE and are given in the NED, usage (in printed form) has been so rare as to warrant their inclusion in this paper.

Bull, n. A drink made by pouring water into an empty cask or canteen which has held spirits. 'Upon an examination of the articles in question [canteens], it appeared, that not satisfied with his blunders of the preceding evening, he had deliberately made a "bull" in the canteens, as the few drops of slightly discolored water that they contained, proved' (pp. 226-227). The word does not occur in this sense in the DAE. Cf. *bull, sb.*[6] in the NED.

Curlecue, n. Trick. 'Most a powerful rough-lookin' flatboat captain, sold him out a bargain, and cut up a most amazin' slick curlecue with him, I guess' (p. 35). The chapter in which this sentence is found is one dealing with a series of tales in which some men outsmart others by trickery; so the meaning of *curlecue* here is obviously 'trick.' The DAE lists the word in an allied meaning of 'flourish,' 'fancy twirl,' but not in the sense suggested here.

Go blind, intr. v. To bet on a hand without looking at the cards. 'Now, it was the oldest hand's turn; he had passed the first "say" by "going

1. John T. Krumpelmann, 'A Re-examination of the Vocabulary of *A Stray Yankee in Texas*,' *American Speech,* XIX (1944), 43-46.

blind" ' (p. 92). This instance of the term antedates the first entry (1859) in the DAE (listed under *blind*).

Holawagos, adj. See quotation. '. . . none of your no'count or'nary *holawagos* yarns, . . . When I was a chunk of a boy, father did right smart Injin [Creek] tradin', and I sorter helped him. You could trade right piert on two words, *holawagos* and *suchos ché.* One means *"no'count,"* and t'other *"all gone"* ' (p. 301). The word is not listed at all in the DAE. Paxton indicates his awareness that the word is alien to English by italicizing it. The quotation would suggest, however, that the word was frequently incorporated into the language of Paxton's time.

John Darmes, n. Gendarmes. 'He larnt that time to let the John Darmes hunt thar own varmint' (p. 63). This interesting rendering of *gendarmes,* by folk etymology, may be a nonce expression. It does not appear at all in the DAE.

Judy, n. A foolish, silly person. 'They [a group of men] war up and a stirrin I tell you; they called a meetin', and they made chairmin and secketaries, and passed resolutions, and made perticklar Judies of theyselves ginerally' (p. 68). *Judy* is given in the DAE only as a lamp for burning whale blubber. The NED lists *judy* a. as a slang term for a woman of ridiculous appearance—obviously a meaning suggested by the character of Judy in the Punch and Judy shows. In this instance, though, the word has lost its feminine implication and is applied to men—hence any foolish person.

Marvel, intr. v. To go away perplexed, embarrassed, feeling silly. 'We walked out quiet and docious, give a darky a quarter to show us home, and marvelled off with our tails atween our legs' (p. 43). This unusual sense of *marvel* does not appear in either the DAE or the NED.

Mot, n. Eminence, hillock? 'This prairie is surrounded on the south by timber of the bay . . . on the west and north by mots of timber . . .' (p. 271). Is this a rendering without the *e* of *mote, sb.*[2], 1 in the NED?

Pewter, n. Money. 'Then I spent five thousand of the real pewter, buyin' old Texas money—cost from seven up to ten per cent' (p. 268). There is no listing of this word in the DAE. Cf. *pewter* 2. c in the NED for a comparable slang expression suggesting, primarily, 'prize-money.'

Quilt, tr. v. Whip, flog. ' "Now, Sam," ses he, "I'm going to quilt you" ' (p. 293). This verb is not given at all in the DAE in this sense. See *Quilting,* infra.

Quilting, vbl. n. Whipping, flogging. ' "All I'm afear'd of is, takin' a quiltin' if I don't find the steward" ' (p. 48). The term is not listed in

the DAE in this sense. It is interesting to note that one of the two NED citations under *quilting, vbl. sb.*², with the meaning of 'flogging,' is taken from Haliburton's *Clockmaker* (1836), whose main character is a Yankee. The DAE includes the *Clockmaker* in its bibliography, but the readers evidently overlooked *quilting.*

Sawyer, n. Card shark, crooked gambler. '. . . the gamblers there thought he'd got more'n his share, and so picked out three of their top sawyers, that Wade didn't know, clubbed together, and made up a puss of ten thousand dollars, for 'em to go down the river with him, and get a game' (p. 56). *Sawyer* is not listed in this sense in either the DAE or the NED.

Shirting out, vbl. n.? Painful lesson, skinning. 'T'want long afore he got a shirtin' out, though, and larnt suthin about "chawin his own tabacker" ' (p. 62). Obviously a slang expression, this term does not appear in this sense in the DAE or NED.

Titus and popcorn, adj.? Close, nip and tuck. 'Away went the thief, and away went Sime; and I tell ye, for a while it was nip and tuck—*titus and pop-corn*—you'd best believe' (p. 63). This may be a nonce expression. I am unable to account for its origin.

Tote, intr. v. Go. '. . . evry one knows that I wer raised in old Tennessee, then toted off to Alabam, and settled on the Warrior, and then put out for Texas' (p. 40). This use of *tote* as an intransitive verb antedates the two citations (1862 and 1865) given in the DAE.

MR. BYINGTON'S BRIEF CASE (III)

'HORNED CATTLE'

THE *DAE* definition of *horned cattle* as 'domestic animals having horns' is unsatisfactory. The term means simply bovine cattle. It is one of the shifts to which we have been driven by our lack of an accepted current noun meaning a beast of this species regardless of sex. It is the third commonest American designation for bovine cattle; that is to say, when it is felt that neither the use of the simple word *cattle* in this restricted sense nor the epicene use of *cows* is sufficiently unambiguous, we say *horned cattle* rather than *neat cattle* or *ox kind*. The term never includes goats; on the other hand, any statistics purporting to give the number of 'horned cattle' in a certain state or county at a certain date would assuredly include the Polled Angus and other hornless breeds unless the context made such a meaning distinctly impossible. If one desired to specify bovines with horn in antithesis to such as the Polled Angus, one could thus use *horned cattle* with clarifying context, but one would more ordinarily say '(cattle of) horned breeds.' In its origin our term may easily be connected with German *Hornvieh* in the same sense; on the other hand, French *bêtes de corne* is said to include goats, as the English and German terms do not.

'MILK GRAVY' AND 'BOSTON CRACKER'

My account of milk gravy (*American Speech*, April, 1944, p. 123) is said to be incorrect. My sister assures me that it is hardly milk gravy unless it has an egg in it, and that creamed chipped beef always has the egg. I can only plead in extenuation that neither of the two cook-books in which I found receipts for milk gravy uses any egg, though one of them professes to give a type far superior to the usual milk gravy; and that of six books in which I find the beef receipt, only one (date of latest copyright, 1863) has an egg. It appears that it is risky to try to define the precise nature of a product of the kitchen.

Nevertheless, the attempt should be made. One of the familiar items in household literature is the 'Boston cracker.' I want to know whether I am correct in conceiving this particular type of cracker to be the old-fashioned thick circular cracker, half an inch thick and two inches or more wide (dimensions vary with different bakers), made light and tender, as I understand, not by yeast nor by soda nor by shortening, but by being made with such a maximum of flour and minimum of water that only a mechanical pressure beyond the strength of the human hand can bring it into cohesion, and by being rolled under this pressure and

folded and re-rolled like good puff paste until much air has been trapped in the stiff dough. To find out whether I have the right idea, I look in the *DAE,* and what do I find? 'A kind of hard biscuit made in Boston.' Definitions like this, or like 'a breed of sheep,' 'a variety of bean,' should be left to the crossword puzzles to be used alongside of the definitions 'a bird,' 'a tree'; the man who looks in a dictionary wants to know what sort of variety of bean. The *DAE* has been much more conscientious in its definition of *soda cracker.* Whether I ever ate a soda cracker made according to the *DAE* definition I don't know.

'CUT NAILS' AND OTHER NAILS

I have lately seen cut nails called 'square nails' by somebody who evidently did not know their right name. The name *cut nail* is duly given in the *DAE,* but no correlative term for any other nail. Obviously, when cut nails were distinguished by that name there must have been other nails to distinguish them from, and a name for those other nails. According to my father, the other nails were *wrought nails.* My father had a double right to know the right name, having both that familiarity with tools and nails which belonged to the son of an old-fashioned New England farm and that which belonged to the grandson of the inventor of one of the first nail-making machines. After the introduction of cut nails, wrought nails continued to have a superior value for some purposes because they could be clinched; cut nails could not (see the *DAE* quotation from Holmes). I can remember my father showing me the process of clinching a wrought nail. Wire nails cannot be properly clinched either; a clinched wire nail is a clumsy job and a blemish on the structure. Small thin-pointed nails for old-fashioned clinching are now made under the name of *clinching nails.* I do not know whether there are clinching nails bigger than carpet tacks or not; probably there are. Since the United States did not invent wire nails and was decidedly late in adopting them, the *DAE* is naturally right in not finding *wire nail* to be a distinctively American term; nevertheless the incoming of the name *wire nail* is part of the history of the American language.

Since the cut nail is an American invention, the word *nail-plate* must be of American origin, though not in the *DAE.*

SOME LINGUISTIC ITEMS FROM COOPER'S WORKS

In *The Pioneers,* near the end of Chapter 18, Cooper makes Leatherstocking say 'starvation would be apt to be too much for me now,' clearly using *apt* in the sense of 'likely.' I believe Cooper has the same use else-

where; but, since *The Pioneers* is one of his earliest works (1823), this may be our earliest quotation for this sense of the word. The *DAE* lists under this sense a much earlier quotation of 'am apt to think'; but the supplement volume of the *NED* seems to be right in regarding *apt to think* as a usage distinct from the sense 'likely.'

In the third paragraph of Chapter 20 of the same book, we read of 'the exciting and dangerous "whirligig." ' What was this? By the context it would appear to have been a form of sport on the ice of the lake, engaged in by parties like sleighing and not by individuals like skating; something in which, despite its 'exciting and dangerous' nature, upper-class young ladies might take part without violating those canons of female delicacy by which the writer of 1823 conceived the refined ladies of 1793 to have been bound. Ice-boating might meet all the requirements, but could there be any motive for giving the name 'whirligig' to ice-boating? I have not found any dictionary definition which seemed to me to suit the passage.

Somewhat more than half way through Chapter 34 of *The Pioneers,* we read: ' "You're a ship's cousin, I tell ye, Master Doo-but-Little," roared the steward; "some such matter as a ship's cousin, sir." ' The *NED,* under *ship* 9.c, seems to conjecture that *ship's cousin* is not much more than a nonce-word, with meaning neither very definite nor very serious; but in Cooper the word appears to carry a well-established and definite meaning, serious enough to have strong objurgatory value—half a page later the steward's fists are going. Unluckily, as sometimes happens in objurgatory utterances, the precise connotation does not become clear. This steward is described as British-born and as having learned all his language on British ships; but since Cooper was an American writer and had learned sailors' language on American ships, and since the *NED* quotation for the phrase is also American, the passage seems to belong to the history of American speech.

Early in Chapter 41 of *The Pioneers* we read, 'concealing her raven hair under a gypsy.' This substantivized *gypsy* is obviously identical with the *gipsy hat* which was mentioned, as the *DAE* notes, toward the end of Chapter 12. I copy the orthographical difference of *gipsy* and *gypsy* from the edition I have, which seems to be a good one.

In *The Wing-and-Wing* (1842), in the exact middle of Chapter 4, Ithuel Bolt of New Hampshire is speaking in the year 1798: 'I have not been to school for nothing; not I. The English call c-l-e-r-k, clark; and c-u-c-u-m-b-e-r, cowcumber; and a-n-g-e-l, aingel; and no reasoning can convince me that's right.' I infer that in New Hampshire in 1798, or at some subsequent date when Cooper had an opportunity of observing

the pronunciation, *angel* was pronounced with the short [æ], as the Latin word *angelus* was and is conventionally pronounced in English.

On the third page of Chapter 10 Ithuel is talking of religion. To one of his interlocutor's propositions he replies, 'That's not exactly platform, I fancy.' The meaning is 'not exactly orthodox'; the status of *platform* as a substantive can be salved by translating 'not exactly orthodoxy.' The explanation is that the standard formulations of early New England orthodoxy were known as this platform and that platform (see the *DAE*), so that metonymy gives Ithuel's use of the word. We must assume that Cooper had heard, or at the very least had heard of, a Yankee who thus used *platform* predicatively without article as an abstract noun or quasi-adjective; Cooper could not himself have invented this use.

Five-sevenths of the way through Chapter 18, Cooper notes with explicit condemnation that Ithuel pronounced *argument* 'argoo*o*ment.'

WORDS TO SCARE ANIMALS

We know that we say *scat* to a cat and *shoo* to a bird (usually in our life a hen), though the *NED* has found a man benighted enough to say *shoo* for *scat.* Doubtless it is generally felt that such words are interjections with imperative force (compare *hush* and what Arab grammarians say about the Arabic equivalent of *hush,* also such orders to animals as *gee, haw, whoa*), but they have so much analogy with imperative intransitive verbs that they are occasionally used as verb non-imperatively, 'it wouldn't scat,' just as the Greek adverb *deuro,* 'hither,' when used imperatively has so much analogy to a verb that it takes the ending of a plural verb when it is addressed to more than one. *Shoo* is a word of venerable age, for it dates back to the time before the Germanic and Greek languages branched off from each other: we find it surviving in Greek in Aristophanes's *Wasps,* line 209, and we have it made into an indicative intransitive verb in the same play, line 458. (The application in the latter line is to wasps; wasps rate as birds not only to the Hebrew mind but to the Greek, see the opening of Lucian's eulogy on the fly.) The Greek, not having the sound of *sh,* is compelled to spell *sou,* just as the Greek for the same reason is compelled to write *s* for *sh,* and bequeath the *s* to us, in such familiar Hebrew names as *Jesus, Moses, Samson, Solomon, Isaiah.* The Greek for the transitive verb, *'shoo* the birds away,' is *sobeo,* which comes in the most immediate context of both the lines cited from Aristophanes; it may or may not be etymologically related to *sou.*

In my boyhood, when the horse got into the wrong place we used to drive it out by shouting *whay.* It is probably an accidental coincidence

of form that the *NED,* under the spelling *way,* gives *whay* as a synonym of *whoa;* it would be easier to believe that the Vermont word was a phonetic alteration of *away* (not that I really believe this either) than that it comes from *whoa.* One might also think of French *huée* and its English equivalent *hue;* the French used the word especially in wolf-hunting, the English in deer-hunting, and not only to encourage the hounds but, for instance, to drive the roebuck back to covert; see the noun and the verb in the *NED.*

As I grew older, I heard from my father that in his farm boyhood (Western Vermont, about 1850) they used to drive a horse away with *whay* and a pig with *whee.* The latter word I had not known, since my boyhood had no concern with pigs; but when the country had its momentary fad for drawing a picture of a pig with your eyes shut, my father drew one of about the usual quality, and then wrote under it

> This pig you see
> Will never whee

and, after a little more meditation,

> Because he is an elephant
> So that to whee is not his wont

—which shows the intransitive verb use. This *whee* is doubtless a phonetic alteration of *hoy,* the traditional English word for driving hogs. And *hoy,* transmitted through a different channel, could have given rise to *whay.*

The cry at our house for driving away a dog, in doors or out, was always *get out,* which is formally an imperative intransitive verb. As far as I now remember, we chivied a cow as well as a horse with *whay.* The Western cowboy's *yippee, whoopee* seems to fall into the same class, with the peculiarity of being addressed to a large number of large creatures.

Finally, one may compare the old-time cry to a witch, *aroint thee.* This is most plausibly regarded as a verb, second person imperative or first person indicative or third person subjunctive, with a pronoun; but until a good etymology for it shall have been given it will also remain possible to call it an interjection.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON

Ballard Vale, Massachusetts

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION*

Radio program: Listen the Women, January 9, 1945. Question: 'Why haven't women become notable composers?' Speakers: Miss Natalie Core; Miss Dorothy Thompson; Mrs. Margaret Case Harriman; Mrs. Chester Arthur; Dean Mildred Thompson; Miss Thyra Samter Winslow.

Miss Core: ˈjɛsˌ aɪ ˈhæv ə ˈwɝd ɔn ˈwɪmɪn‖ ɔn ðə ˈwɪmən huˌ ˈlɪsn tə ðə ˈwɪmənˌ ənd ˈsɛnd ðɛr ˈkwɛstʃnz tu əs əz ˈwɛəl‖ ɪn ðə ˈpast wiv ˈhɝd frəm əˈmɛɹəɹəkn ˈwɪmɪn ɪn ˈɔlmoʊst ˈʔɛvrɪ ˈwɔk əv ˈlaɪfˌ ˈhaʊswaɪvzˌ stəˈnɒgrəfɚzˌ ˈhɒlɪwʊd ˈstɑːrzˌ ˈsɛkrətrɪzˌ ˈtʃɛɪmbɚ ˈmɛɪdzˌ nd ˈʔɪvn ə ˈwɛldɚ ɚ ˈtu‖ ˈðɪs ˈfækt həz ˈtɔt əs ðət ðə ˈkwɛstʃnz əv ðə ˈdɛɪˌ ˈʍɛðɚ ðɛɚ ˈvaɪtəlɪ ɪmˈpɔɹɚtntˌ ɔɚ ˈmɪəlɪ əˈmjuzɪŋˌ ɑɹɚ əv ˈdɪp ən ˈlastɪŋ ˈɪntrəst tu ðə ˈwɪmɪn əv ˈðɪs ˈneɪʃn̩ˌ no ˈmætɚ ˈʍʌt ˈsɛgmənt əv səˈsaɪətɪ ðɛɪ meɪ ˈlɪv ɪn‖ ˌðɛɚˈfoɚ wi ˈbrɪŋ ˈðɪs ˈoʊpn̩ dɪsˈkʌʃn̩ˌ ˈʔɒvˌ ˈbaɪˌ ʔænd ˈfɔɚ ˈwɪmənˌ tu ˈðɪs ˈmaɪkrəfoʊn ˈɪtʃ ˈwɪk‖ ənd ðə ˈmætɚz wi dɪsˈkʌs ɚ ðə most ɪmˈpɔɹɚtnt ˈmætɚzˌ ɔn ˈˈjoə ˈmaɪnd‖ ˈjoɹr ˈkwɛstʃnz ʔɑɚ ðə ˈˈmɪtˌ ðə ˈmɛ̃ĩnˌ ˈˈkoɚs əv ˈðɪz dɪsˈkʌʃnzˌ nd ˈðæts ʍaɪ wi seɪˌ ˈsɛnd ˈjoə ˈkwɛstʃnz tuˌ ˈlɪsn ðə ˈwɪmən‖ ɪf wi rɪˈvaɪz ðə ˈwɝdɪŋ ə ˈlɪtl ˈðæt ˈdʌznt ˈˈmætɚˌ ʔæz ɪts ðɪ ʔaɪˈdɪə bɪˈhaɪnd ˈjɔɚ ˈkwɛstʃn̩ ðət ˈkaʊnts‖ ʃud ðə ˈseɪm aɪˈdɪə bi səbˈmɪɹəd baɪ ˈtu ɚ ˈmɔɚ ˈpɝsnzˌ ðə dɪˈsɪʒn̩ əv ˈaɚ ʔɛdəˈtɔɚɪəlˌ ˈbɔɚd ɪz ˈfaɪmlˌ nd ˈɔˌ ˈkwɛstʃnz bɪˈkʌm ðə ˈprɒpɚtɪ ʔɒv ˈlɪsn ðə ˈwɪmɪn‖ . . . nd ˈnaʊˌ ˈbæk tu ˈaʊər ˈˈʔʌnrəˈhɝst dɪsˈkʌʃn̩ˌ nd aʊə ˈmɪstrɪs əv ˈsɛrəmənɪzˌ ˈdɑrəθɪ ˈtɑmsn̩‖

Miss Thompson (the speaker was born in Lancaster, N.Y.): ˈmɪs ˈdʒɪn ˈweɪzɪ əv ˈnju ˈjɔk ˈsɪtɪˌ wəˈðaʊt ˈkæstɪŋ ˈɛ̃nɪ əˈˈspɝʒn̩z ɔn ˈwɪmən ɪn ˈdʒɛ̃nrəlˌ ˈʔasks ju tʊ ɪkˈsplɛ̃ĩn ʍaɪ ˈwɪmən həv ˈnɛvə bɪn ˈnoʊtəd kəmˈpoʊzʌzˌ‖ ʔæz ɪnˈtɝprətəzˌ ʔʌv ˈmjuzɪkˌ ʔæz ˈdænsəz nd ˈʔæktrəsɪz ðeɪv bɪn ˈfeɪməs fɔ ˈtu ˈsɛ̃ntʃərɪzˌ ʃi ˈsɛzˌ bət ˈðeɪ əv ˈnāt ˈlɛft ə ˈnoʊtəbl ˈmɑɚk ɪn ðə ˈfild ʔʌv ˈmjuzəkl kã^{m}pəˈzɪʃn̩‖ ʔɛkˈsplɛ̃ĩn ɪtˌ ˈmɪsɪz ˈhɛɚəmən‖

Mrs. Harriman (the speaker was born in New York City): ɪts-ʔʌˌ ˈfæ̃səneɪtɪŋ ˈkwɛstʃn̩ ãĩ ˈθɪŋkˌ ɪts bɪn ˈãskt ˈmɛ̃nɪ ˈtãːˈmzˌ‖ aɪ ˈdounᵗ ˈnoːʊ ðəˀ ðɛr ɪz ˈɛ̃nɪ ˈʔæ̃ⁿsə bət ə hæv ə ˈˈθɪərɪ əˈbaʊr ɪt‖

Miss Thompson: lɛts ˈhɪr ɪt‖

Mrs. Harriman: nd ˈðæ̃t ˈʔɪz ðət ˈʔãĩ ˈdõũⁿˀ ˈθĩŋk ˈwɪmən ˈhæ̃vˌ æz ˈgũd ən ˈˈʔɪːɚˌ əz ˈmɛ̃n ˈhæ̃v ãĩˈdõũⁿˀ ˈθĩŋk ðɛɪ hæ̃v ˈpɝfɪkᵗ ˈpɪtʃˌ fɚ ˈĩnstənsˌ‖ bɪˈkɔz ʔɪf ˈju ˈlɪsn tə ðə ˈʔævredʒ ˈwʊmənz ˈvɔɹɪsˌ ĩt ĩz ˈnāt ɛgˈzæktˈlɪˌ məˈloʊdɪəsˌ jə ˈnõːũˌ ənãĩ ˈθĩŋk ðə ˈrɪzn ˈɪz—

Miss Thompson: djə ˈɛvə ˈlɪsn tə ˈˈhɪtlʌˌ ˈhiz ə ˈmæn‖

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* The transcription was made from a phonograph recording of part of the broadcast.

Mrs. Harriman: ˈˈwɛːəl ˈaɪ ˈmĩn bi ɪt ˈmæ̃n ˈwũmən ɔɚ ʍʌ̃ːt juː ˈnõːu ãˈ ˈmĩn aɪm ˈtɔkɪŋ əˈbaʊt ˈhjũmən ˈbĩːĩŋz|| ʔʌ| ˈãĩ ˈθĩŋk ˈðɛɪ ˈdõũⁿʔ ˈˈhɪr ðəmˈsɛlvz aɪ doᵘnʔ ˈθĩŋk ˈwɪmən ˌɪn ˈdʒɛ̃nˌrəl| ˈhɪɚ| ʔʌ| ðə ˈnɔɪz ðət ˈkʌmz ˈaʊt əv ðəm||

Miss Thompson: ˈmɪsɪz ˈhɛɚəmən ˈθĩŋks ɪts ˈdjuː tu ə ˈfɔɹltɪ ˈsɛns əv ˈpɪtʃ ʍɪtʃ aɪ bɪˈliv ˈʃi ˈθĩŋks ɪz kənˈdʒɛnətl tə ðə ˈfimɛɪˈ ˈrɛɪs—

Mrs. Harriman: ˈãĩ ˈˈθĩŋk so—

Miss Thompson: ʔʌˈ—bʌʔˈ ˈmɪsɪz ˈɑɹθə duː ˈjuː ˈhæv ə ˈdɪfrənt əˈpɪnjən||

Mrs. Arthur (the speaker was born in New York City): ˈmɪsɪz ˈhærɪmən həz ˈbrɔt ˈfɔwəd ən ˈɪntrəstɪŋ ʰaɪˈpɑθəsəs| bət ʔɑɹɪ ˈθɪŋk ðə ˈkwɛstʃn ɪz ʔʌnˈʔæ̃ⁿsrəbˈ| lɑɹɪkˈʔʌ ði ˈɔrədʒn əv ˈɛɪnʃnt ˈʔidʒɪpt|| ˈwʌn əv ðə ˈˈstreɪndʒəst ˈθɪŋz ˈɪːᵊz| ˈðæt ˈwɪmən hæv ˈnɛvə ɪkˈsɛːəlːd ɪn ˈʔɛnɪ ˈwɛɪ| ˈɑɹɪðər ɪn-ə ˈmjuzəkˈ kã̃ᵐpəˈzɪʃnː| ɔɚ ɪn ˈɑɹkətɛktʃə|| ðər ɪz ˈoʊnlɪ ˈwʌn ˈwʊmən kəmˈpoʊzʌː ɪn ðə ˈlast ˈhʌndrəd ˈjɪəz huz rəˈmɛmbəd ˈmæri ʃamɪˈnad hu daɪd ɪn ˈɒkjʊpaɪd ˈfrɑns ət ðə ˈgreɪt ˈeɪdʒ əv ˈɛɪtɪ ə ˈjɪr əˈgoʊ n ˈɑɪ ˈθɪŋk ˈʃiz ˈbɛtə fəˈgɒtn| ˈðoʊ ʃɪ ˈroʊt ðə ˈskɑɹf ˈdæːənz|| ʔænd-ʔʌ aɪ həv ˈnɛvə ˈhœːd ʔʌv ə ˈwʊmən ˈɑɹkətɛkt| ˈɑɪ ˈdoʊnt ˈnoʊ|| ˈmɪsɪz ˈhærɪmənːzːˌʌ haɪˈpɒθəsɪz ɪz prəˈvɒkətɪv|| ɪt ˈdʌznt ˈsim tu ˈmi ˈfaɪnl|| pəˈhæps ˈwɪmən| ɑɹ ˈnɑt ˈkeɪpəbl| əv ˈðæt ˈmæθəˈmætɪklˈ ˈðæt mɛtəˈfɪzɪkl ən ˈmæθəˈmætəkl ˈbeɪsəs ɒnˈ əˈpɛɪrəntlɪ ɒn ˈʍɪtʃ ˈboʊθ ˈɑɹkətɛktʃər ənd ˈmjuzɪk ɑː ˈˈbeɪst|| bʌt ɒn ði ˈʌðə ˈhænd ˈðɛə ˈsoʊ ˈbædlɪ ˈʔɛdʒəkeɪtɪd| æn ˈˈhæv bɪn so ˈbædlɪ ˈɛdʒəkeɪtɪd so ˈlɔ̃ːŋ ɪt ˈɪznt ˈkwɑɹˈt ˈfɛə tə kənˈdɛm ðəm||

Miss Thompson: ˈʔæftə ˈɔl kriˈeɪtɪv ˈdʒinjəs ˈɪznt ə ˈkwɛstʃn əv ɛdʒuˈkeɪʃn—

Mrs. Arthur: ˈðɪs ɪz wɪθ ˈˈdɛfrəns tə ðə ˈdin əv ˈvæsə—

Miss Thompson: bəɹ aɪ ˈwʌndə ˈʍɑt ˈdin ˈtãmsən ˈθɪŋks||

Dean Thompson (the speaker was born in Atlanta, Georgia): ˈaɪm ˈnɑt ˈθɪŋkɪŋ əˈbaʊt ˌɪt əz ə ˈkã̃ⁿˌtɛnt əv ˌɛdʒəˈkeɪʃn əv ˈkɔrs wi ˈseɪ ðɪs ˈkwɛstʃn ˌɪz ˌʌnˈʔæ̃ⁿsᵊrəbl æn ˈðɛəˌfɔ ˌwi əˈmidətlɪ ˈtraɪ ˌtu ˈʔæⁿsᵊr ət|| ˌði ˈoʊnlɪ ˈθɪŋ ðət əˈkɜz tə ˈmaɪ ˈmaɪnd| ʔɪz ˈlæk ʔʌv ˌði| ˈpaʊə ˌʔʌv ɪnˈˈtɛns| ˈkã̃ⁿsənˈtreɪʃən| ˈoʊvə ə ˈˈvɛɚɪ ˈˈvɛɚɪ ˈlɔːŋ ˈpɪɚɪəd|| ðæt ˈsimz tə ˈmiː| ˈrɑðə ˈkærətəˈrɪstɪk bəˈkɔz ˈðɛɪ ˈduː ˈˈgɪv ðəmˈsɛlvzˈ ˈtuː| ʔʌðə ɪnˈtɛns ˈɪntrəsts ʔʌðə ðən| ˈdʒʌst| ðə ˈmɪə ˈdʒɑəb| ʔʌv ˌkã̃ᵐpəˈzɪʃən|| ʔaɪ ˈkæ̃nt ˈθɪŋk əv ˈɛnɪ ˈʌðəˈ ˈrizən|| ˈsœtnlɪ ˈnɑt ˌɛdʒəˈkeɪʃən| ðət wʊd əˈkaʊnt fər ət|| . . .

Miss Winslow (the speaker was born in Fort Smith, Arkansas): . . . ˈˈɛnɪ əv ðɪ ʔɑɚts|| æn ˈaɪ ˈθĩŋk ˈmjuzɪk . . . ˈdʒʌst ʔɪz ðə ˈlæst ˈwʌn ˈwʌn əv ðə ˈlæəst ˈwʌnz ðət' ˈwĩmən ə dəˈvɛləpɪŋ ˈɪn æn ðɛɚ ˈˈʔɑɚ ə ˈlɑɾ əv ˈwɪmən təˈdeɪ ðət ˈˈʔɑə ˈraɪtɪŋ ˈvɛɚɪ ˈgüd ˈmjuzɪk|| ˈdeɪnə ˈswits hæz ˈdʒʌst ˈhæd ə ˈsɪmfənɪ əkˈsɛptəd baɪ ðə| ˈfɪləˈdɛəfjə fɪəˌhɑɚˈmanɪk|

ˈɔɚkəsˌtrə ʔʌn ə ˈgreɪt ˈmɛnɪ ˈʌðɚ ˈwɪmən ˈaɪ ˈnoʊ ˈɝ| bʌˈgĩnɪŋ tə ˈdu ˌˌʔɛksələnt ˈwɝk ɪn ˌˌmjuzɪk ˈðɛɪ ʔɑ ˈstɪˈ ˈjʌŋ| ˌˌkʌˈtʃrəlɪ| ʔæz ə ˌˌsɛks æ̃n aɪ ˈθĩŋk| ɪn ə ˈkʌpl əv ˈdʒɛ̃nəˈreɪʃnz ˌˌwĩmən wəl ˈprɑbəblɪ ˈkætʃ ˈʌp tə ˈmɛ̃n æn ˈmeɪbɪ| ˌˌlɔŋ ˈæftɚ ˈɑɚ ˈtaɪm| ˈðeɪ ˈmeɪ ˈivn| ˌʔautˈdu ðəm||

Miss Thompson: ˈwël ˈmɪs ˌˌsweɪzɪ| wi ˈhævnt ˈgɑt ə ˈvɛrɪ ˈsætəsˈfæktərɪ ʔæ̃ⁿsə tə ˈjʊə ˈkwɛstʃn|| ʔɛ- əˈkɔdɪŋ tʊ ˌmɪsˈ ˈwɪnzlou jul hæv tə ˌˌweɪt fə ˈθri ə ˈfɔɚ dʒɛnəˈreɪʃnz tʊ ˈfaɪnd ˌˌʔaʊt|| bət ət ˈɛnɪ ˈreɪt wiv ˈtɔkt fəɾ ˈoʊvɚ ˈθri ˌˌmɪnəts ʔæ̃ndˈ ju wɪl rəˈsiv ˈtwɛntɪ ˈdɑləz| ɪn ˈwɔɚ ˈstæmps|| . . .

The transcription was prepared with the assistance of the following students in Phonetics at Teachers College, Columbia University: Ruth Bash, Ruth Elder, Elizabeth Kinsey, Vivian Lawrence, Glenna McBroom, Jym Motheral, Eleanor Rahman, Audrey Snyder, Louise Stevens, Wyn Sutphin.

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

FOLK SONG AND FOLK SPEECH

TO THE student of American folk speech the great collection of 2500 phonographic records of folk songs which the Lomaxes have built up in the course of some 15 years of field recording is a rich treasure. Housed in the Library of Congress as part of the Archive of American Folk Song, it is readily accessible. It is reassuring to know that 'a recent grant from the Carnegie Foundation for the installation of duplicating equipment will make these records available at cost to the public' (p. xv).

The book under review[1] does not of itself present reliable material for detailed linguistic research. Many of the songs presented are composites of different versions gathered in different parts of the country. Even songs that are taken from a single record—the authors always give precise information concerning the home of the singer—can be used only for the study of vocabulary, syntax and word forms, since the conventional spelling is not capable of showing more than certain phonemic differences in the pronunciation of the vowels, certain simplifications of consonant clusters, and some of the most striking phonetic deviations from cultivated pronunciation.

The book is intended for a large public and hence nobody will object to the method of presentation chosen by the authors. The linguist will find enough in the texts presented to get a general view of folk usage and to see some of the interesting linguistic problems that need to be gone into.

In the field of morphology he will be struck by the many verb forms that are now largely confined to folk speech, e.g. past tense forms such as *fought* rhyming with *spout* (115), *fotch, clumb, tuck, run, give, growed, stoled;* past participles like *stole, rode, drownded, borned;* present participles like *acomin', arunnin'*. He will note the common occurrence of the uninflected plurals of nouns of measure such as *ten rod high, 5000 pound, 24 mile* (105-106) and many other morphological features characteristic of folk speech everywhere or in certain sections of the country. In the Negro songs from the Bahamas he will observe the great simplification of the verb that is familiar to us from the Gullah of South Carolina and Georgia, e.g. *the wind blow* (blew) *east* (80), *a wasp bite* (bit) *Nobi* (86), the whale *get strike* (got struck), the *whale make* (made) *a flunder* (89).

1. *Our Singing Country: A Second Volume of American Ballads and Folk Songs.* Collected and compiled by John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax; Ruth Crawford Seeger, music editor. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. xxxiv, 416 pp.

Syntactical features that have been abandoned in literary English and in the speech of the upper and the middle classes but survive more or less widely in folk speech will attract his attention, for instance: *the leaves they will wilt* (140), *it came a storm of snow* (103), *choose you* (yourself) *another* (66), *drinking of brandy* (144), *enjoying of my room* (144), *it's well for to be* (127), *made a leap for to run* (115), *for to make him* (himself) *a blowin' horn* (106), *she knew not for why, I can't tell why the reason may be* (120), *'purpose of a little green grass to eat* (113), *nobody on earth shall never know* (145). Local and regional words he will also encounter, e.g. *sugar tree* (62), *toad-frog* (67), *to swamp* (cut a road through timber land, 227), *tuck sick* (26), *they followed hog-stealing* (115).

Rhymes, though often impure, give some indication of regional folk pronunciations. The following are probably pure rhymes: *John* : *worn* (176), *horn* : *gone* (203), *mo'* (more) : *Joe* (248), *quare* : *chair* (133), *sca'ce* (scarce) : *place* (61), *end* : *in* (248). The assonance *cure* : *here* (161) is probably [kjo] : [hjɜ]. The common Southern simplification of final consonant clusters is reflected in rhymes like *pine* : *behind* (60), *kneel* : *field* (66), *possess* : *best* (160).

Occasionally a spelling conveys or suggests a regional folk pronunciation, e.g. *pore* (poor), *skeer* (scare), *ile* (oil), *whup* (whip), *caintcha* (can't you), *brustles* (bristles), *turkle* (turtle), *borry* (borrow), *ascairt* (scared). But many of the unconventional spellings such as *massa* (*Master*), *ter-backer* can be interpreted only against the background of local speech.

For the purpose of tracing the history of these songs on the American continent two types of evidence will be of great importance: (1) the geographic distribution of the songs and of their variants and (2) the language of the songs.

Interpretation from the geographic point of view presupposes systematic sampling of the occurrence of representative songs in a network of localities from Maine to Florida and thence westward to the Pacific. This work is still to be accomplished. The method of procedure is well established and will yield results comparable in importance to those already achieved in part by our anthropologists in dealing with the dissemination and, by inference from the geographic spread, with the history of the material civilization and the folk lore of the American Indians. It is essentially the method employed by the Linguistic Atlas of the U.S.A., which consists (1) in the systematic sampling of usage, (2) in the delimitation of speech areas on the basis of recorded usage and (3) in relating the speech areas thus set off to settlement areas, culture areas, trade areas and social classes of the present, the recent past

and the remoter past. This procedure yields a realistic historical account of local, regional and national linguistic usage. Applied to the folk song and other folk lore of which direct records of earlier usage in America are scanty or entirely lacking, it is sure to give us highly significant results.

The linguistic evidence too will be helpful in establishing the history of individual songs and thus shed light on the manner in which the texts of folk songs are transmitted, disseminated, reworked and distorted. Local and regional vocabulary, grammatical forms, and syntactical features abound in the folk song. Rhymes reflecting regional pronunciations are not uncommon. If we know the present geographic spread of such features we have important clews for tracing a song to a particular section of the country. It is to be assumed that some of the regionalisms and localisms are retained when a song is carried beyond the bounds of a speech area, just as traditional ballad words and phrases like *bower* (123), *lily-white hand* (159), *milk-white horse* (158), and archaic grammatical features such as *wilt thou be mine?* (107), *a lily fair* (169), *he . . . in his arm an infant bare* (rhyming with *fair,* 165) survive although they are at variance with the singer's own speech and sometimes unintelligible to him.

It will often be difficult to decide whether an expression or a form occurring in a song or ballad is a traditional literary feature or a feature of older folk speech. However, if it is a feature of recent or present-day folk speech we get an important lead, for we can know, and in many cases do know, its present geographic spread. Without a systematic survey of folk speech we have no way of knowing the present status of such expressions and constructions as these: *it came a storm of snow* (103), *the blood did run* (106), *choose you* (yourself) *another* (66), *drew nigh, it's you must die* (123), *it's all I want's that wife of yours* (153). Are they still current in folk speech? Where are they used? If we can give an answer to such questions we have, or may have, a useful lead.

It would be of the greatest interest and importance if someone would investigate the language of all the songs in the repertories of a number of individual songsters in different parts of the country against the background of their everyday speech, separating out in each case the words, phrases, word forms and syntactical constructions in his songs which he does not use freely in conversation. Such a study would have not only linguistic significance but would throw light upon the process of transmitting folk songs. Distortions of the text, replacements of unfamiliar forms and phrases by equivalent expressions can often be understood in no other way.

One hopes that systematic recording of the folk songs in all parts of the country will be carried forward vigorously as soon as conditions permit. The marked popular interest in the songs of the folk, a fuller understanding of their significance in the lives of the simple folk, and the realization that the folk songs are an important part of our regional and national culture should make the road of the collector smoother than it has been in the past. The Lomaxes accomplished their great task on a shoestring; sheer love of their labor has seen them through.

When our collections of these songs are fuller than they now are we shall be able to see more clearly than we now do where they originated and how they were carried westward or inland from certain centers. Folk songs, folk tales, and folk sayings will doubtless show a more or less clear pattern of geographic distribution, even if it be not as well-defined as in the case of folk speech.

HANS KURATH

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A HANDBOOK OF ABBREVIATIONS

SYMPATHY is usually shown for the means by which we express ourselves. Words are 'martyred,' sentences are 'twisted,' and phrases are 'overworked.' However, the humble and essential letters of the alphabet lie outside. They can be 'jumbled,' but this sounds neither painful nor too strenuous. Here, in this compilation, there is ample testimony that these letters have been given burdens beyond their strength, and meanings beyond comprehending. A letter can have definite meaning—an 'L' building, a 'U' turn, for example, or to go to German, 'K' Beine and 'O' Beine—but those are not abbreviations.

The compiler of this particular volume[1] has worked for five years or more and he has filled two hundred pages with the result. His stated purpose is to provide the way by which people can understand the language of initials, except for the more specialized subjects. There are entries for each letter. A has 27 pages, M and S, 15, and X, Y, and Z, one apiece. He would have perhaps been much more prudent to wait a year or two before he published the result of his labors, for the war is adding daily to the stock of abbreviations. The whole series of Landing Craft vessels came after he went to press, and their absence is a definite deficiency. 'E.L.A.S.' and 'E.A.M.' are not included, and the

1. *Current Abbreviations.* Compiled by G. R. Shankle. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1945. 207 pp.

book thus begins by being outdated at once. There is blood, sweat, and tears in 'L.C.T.' and in 'E.L.A.S.' that will stay in history.

There are certain things to question in the compiler's use of the word 'current' in his title. Abbreviations that are current in religious organizations are not current in governmental bureaus. Probably the most current American abbreviation—except 'C.B.S.' and 'N.B.C.'—is 'L.S.M.F.T.,' but to put this in would be, I suppose, unworthy. He does put in 'W.H.,' which refers to the Westcott and Hort edition of the New Testament. I should question this being current. There is a remarkable statistic—and many people forget that this word may be singular in number—to be gathered from this compilation. In 1916 it was stated that the multiplication of baccalaureate degrees had reached absurd proportions, 'no fewer than 43 such degrees being given by institutions in America.' In this list of 1945 there are more than 115 such degrees listed, each with its appropriate abbreviation. There are baccalaureates in Speech, in Elementary Didactics, in Didactics, in Literary Interpretation, in Diatetics, in School Library Science, in Secretarial Science, and there are three literal ways to express the fact that you are a Bachelor of Science in Ceramic Engineering.

A very serious omission is the failure to include the Fascist abbreviations, 'E.F.' and 'P.N.F.,' and the Nazi 'N.S.D.A.P.,' in a volume that has Italian and German abbreviations.

The strong points of this compilation, it would seem, are Chess, Pharmacy, Greek Societies, and Religious Orders. A defect, which it shares with other similar publications, is a certain tendency towards giving undue weight to library terms. For example, 'A.R.L.N.A.' and 'C. and U.D.L.' may be 'Current Abbreviations,' but a further complication arises. Later on in the book there is listed 'U.C.D.L.G.' One entry is for 'College and University Departmental Librarians,' and the other stands for 'University and College Departmental Librarians Group.' Could not they be persuaded to become less Departmental and share one abbreviation? It might really double the currency.

The difficulty of drawing lines is obvious, but the inclusion of such entries as 'Nurs. R.' for nursery rhymes would seem unnecessary. Then, too, there are cases when the whole word is as incomprehensible as the abbreviation; for example, 'Ninupl.,' which is, unabbreviated, Ninuplicate. As to a comparison of what is put in and what is left out, *Paradise Regained* is in, *Paradise Lost* still lost; 'N.D.L.' is in and 'Hapag' not. The Union Pacific Railroad is in but other railroads, such as the B. & O., S.P., C.P.R., L.M.S., and P.L.M., are left out. The I.R.T. and B.M.T. also are omitted. 'B.P.' is in, for Baden Powell, but 'T.R.' is out.

'G.B.S.' and 'R.L.S.' are in, but 'F.P.A.' is out. The letter F for 'Falsifier' is in, with a note that it was formerly branded on the guilty person. The letter R, meaning 'Rogue,' is in for the same reason, and the letter A gets in but not as the Scarlet Letter. For some reason the compiler has included many cricket abbreviations, such as 'l.b.w.' and 'ht. wt.,' but he leaves out the all-governing M.C.C. He is very good to Cambridge University in England, where the Boat Club, the Golf Club, the Hockey Club, and the Athletic Club have places. For Oxford University, all is left out. Llanfair p.g. should surely have a right to admission as the longest place name in England and Wales.

One looks for, but one does not really expect to find, some abbreviations that might be very useful, those of local laundries and the menus of short-order restaurants. One would have found in this list, with some delight, the abbreviations of florists: 'Glads' and 'Mums,' for example, and the F.D.'s, I.D.'s, and I.C.'s of dahlias. As was the case with Dr. Johnson's dictionary, the temptation is to look for the improper, and one looks in vain. There is an 'S.O.B.,' but this stands demurely for Senate Office Building. One of the longest entries in the list is that on page 35, which runs: 'B.P.C.U.O.F.S.A., The Benevolent and Protective and Completely Universal Order of the Fred Smiths of America.' Against this, in any later edition, I would suggest that 'S.F.T.P.O.D.R.A.B.' should come in, which of course stands for the Society for the Prevention of Disparaging Remarks about Brooklyn.

One group of important abbreviations is the letters which flutter at the bows of yachts and motorboats. These do not seem to have many entries in this compilation, and the rather well known instance of a desperate boat owner who, bewildered by multiplicity, inscribed his pennant with the strange device of 'M.O.B.Y.C.,' meaning My Own Bally Yacht Club, might be recorded.

It seems to me that the Wilson firm have not shown their usual care in the printing of this volume, for I have noticed thirty or forty misprints. 'Billets à reservoir' twice comes in as 'Bills receivable,' and the adjective for London should be 'Londiniensis.' Among curiosities, there are 'G.A.S.G.A.S.G.A.S.,' which means The Gild of Ancient Suppliers of Gas Appliances, Skill, Gins, Accessories and Substances, and then 'p.o.a.s.,' meaning 'printed on ass's skin.' To this, one might presume, could be added 'unwmkd,' and also the fact that ord. fcp. is appar. pfd. by the maj. of Am. comml. publ.

After looking through these 200 pages one has no doubt that the English language is rich in abbreviations, and, as the preface to this books says, 'these abbreviations may cause hopeless confusion.' It is

accordingly with some feeling of envy that one meditates upon the Chinese who, for lack of an alphabet, lack also abbreviations. This may perhaps complicate the introduction of a New Deal into the Unchanging East.

ROGER HOWSON

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SPANISH INTONATION

INTONATION is still young enough for any published work on the subject to come as an event. Professor Navarro's work[1] is even more than an event in Spanish, where he has long had the field of phonetics almost to himself; it is unique. One therefore must accept his pronouncements about his own tongue as correct.

The *Manual* is intended both as a theoretical study and as a textbook. Its theory consists of chapters on declarative, interrogative, volitive, and emotional intonation, and an introduction that sketches such general matters as pitch range, 'melodic units,' and unit-final intonations. As a term for the latter, Navarro adopts the suggestive name of *toneme* (p. 69), but does not use it consistently (on p. 163 it means a whole unit, distinguished from the unit's end). *Toneme* is an obvious choice for the smallest tonal segment that it is convenient to single out.

As a textbook, this should be especially useful to English-speaking and French-speaking students of Spanish, since frequent parallels between the languages are drawn. English-speakers should note particularly the comments on falling-rising intonation (p. 71) and penultimate-group final intonation (Sec. 45 and p. 170), and also (though the English parallel is omitted) those on the downmoving tone of pre-final ascriptions such as 'he said,' where English usually moves up (p. 116), and on conditional sentences (Sec. 55). Other parallels are on pages 33, 34, 50, 85, 86, 125, and 236. Unfortunately the comparisons are often inaccurate, mainly because of incomplete sources where English intonation is concerned. Thus on p. 178 it is stated that final ascriptions in sentences like '"What are you doing?" he said' move up at the end in everyday English, whereas downmotion is about as common as upmotion. Other doubtful generalizations about English are in footnotes 80 and 99 and on pages 117, 144, and 145.

Tonal features are treated throughout as ancillary phenomena. Instead of starting with identifiable features of tone as the framework and

1. *Manual de entonación española.* By Tomás Navarro. New York: Hispanic Institute in the U.S., 1944. 306 pp. (Printed in Cuba by Úcar, García y Cía.)

then passing to specific verbal applications, the author uses syntax as his stage and rings tonal changes upon it. This choice may have been deliberate, or the possibility of indexing profiles instead of verbal features may not have occurred to the author. In any case, in a relatively short work both approaches could not well be taken, and the syntactic one is wise from the point of view of teaching Spanish. The disadvantage is that we frequently miss the connexion between similar tonal profiles encountered far apart and in conjunction with dissimilar locutions. An extreme example is the explanation, pp. 186-187, of certain tonal differences among commands, which turn out to be differences only of the position of the accent of individual words (*ca*lla vs. c*allad* vs. s*ilen*cio); the fundamental identity of the profile is overlooked. Another instance is the rising intonation on ordinarily unstressed syllables in certain commands, which is treated (p. 191) as if it were a differentiating characteristic of commands, when actually it is a feature of many other loud-carrying communications: e.g., in English one may command 'John/*ny*!' and get the non-command reply 'Com/*ing*!' in exactly the same tone. One cannot get at the semantics of intonation in this way. The best treatment of semantics is in the chapters on volitive and emotional intonation, and on pages 75 and 151.

The syntactic arrangement is in itself clear and comprehensible. The book needs more diagrams, however, and a better mathematical plotting of ideas in general. The reader must sometimes go back and write in his own 'point 1, point 2,' etc. The placing of graphs at the back seems a bad choice, and at least one (referred to in footnote 111) appears to be missing. Without accompanying diagrams, some of the examples are difficult to interpret (e.g., intonation of *en,* last example on p. 101).

With intonation still in the pioneering stage, it is too much to expect a study free of errors. The one serious fault is the one that many other toneticians share: the almost exclusive use of literary examples (partially justified in Sec. 3 and on pages 44 and 254). Even the emotional expressions (pp. 220-226) are mostly oral readings of written passages. The danger here is that it still remains to be proved that there is no such thing as a conventionalized reading intonation; the remarkable similarity between interpretations by different readers, which the author notes on p. 44, may be due to this reading habit more than to anything else. The author grants that popular speech is far more resourceful in tone than is refined speech, but he seems afraid to venture upon it. Interesting literary allusions are those frequent ones culled from Spanish authors describing features of tone.

The book contains a number of significant points that have not been sufficiently stressed in other works. Among these are: (1) The impor-

tance of gesture to intonation (p. 207 and especially p. 241—the latter, timbre affected by head-position, and interpreted by the hearer as a sign of the attitude shown by the gesture even when the latter is not seen, I have corroborated in English). (2) Level tone as group-final intonation (p. 77). (3) Social and regional attitudes as conditioning the adoption, to the point of becoming habitual, of intonations characteristic of those attitudes (e.g. the pleading tone used by many women, p. 204). (4) Certain types of questions, e.g. those with 'I suppose' (Sec. 66), 'You said *what?*'—interrogative word final (p. 160), and 'Where are you going? To New York?'—suggested answers (p. 167).

There are a few doubtful points, not serious to the whole. Enumeration occupies a disproportionately large space, a third of the total devoted to declarative intonation. No mention is made of the intonation of ditto questions ('Where are you going?' 'Eh?' '*Where are you going?*'), which are significant in English intonation and unquestionably in Spanish, too, nor of that of complementary questions ('His reason being?'), which cannot be subsumed under yes-no, how-why, or alternative. 'Question' is not defined, which leaves some of the discussion hazy (it is not clear, for example, whether the series on p. 164 is one of real questions, each expecting, or pretending to expect, an answer, or a quoted or ostensibly quoted series that is really declarative). A few instances of doubtful reasoning are to be found, such as that (p. 137) which sees in the reliability of Spanish question-intonation the reason why Spanish has not had to depend on subject-after-verb as a clue to questions, but would be just as logical if viewed contrariwise as a reliability and flexibility of intonation which has itself been forced upon the language by the fact that Spanish often suppresses the subject, in statements as well as in questions, and consequently has had to depend on intonation.

Typographical errors are as follows: p. 55, line 1 *he enamorado;* 103, 19 distinguen; 113, 10 todos; 121, 23 omit *a*; 125, 1 insert group division after *ordinario;* 143, 19 omit one comma; 151, 4 aparece; 157, 30 remove accent; 178, 27 *pronominal* should be *absoluta* (?); 181, 10 *descendentes* should be *ascendentes;* 221, 10 produzcan; 225, 23 que; 240, 2 qué; 252, 16 le.

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INTERNATIONAL SLURS

IT MIGHT be very useful to anthropologists, historians, and students of semantics if some scholar or group of scholars would make a dictionary of derogatory remarks—proverbial and otherwise—that people have

used to characterize other political, racial, sectional, and religious groups. Such a dictionary, even for one language and confining itself to remarks about those of different citizenship, would not be an easy task, for it would demand the same careful attention to etyma, origin, history and distribution that the *Oxford English Dictionary* gives. The multiplication of languages or of types of derogatory remarks would increase the difficulty of preparing such a work, so that one is not surprised that Mr. A. A. Roback's book on international slurs,[1] purporting to cover all languages and dealing with many types of derogatory remarks not political in origin, should fall short of the ideal.

The title implies limitation of the scope to slurs against the members of definite political communities. But a great many of the terms included are not 'international' by any reasonable definition of the term, but concern color, religion, and occupation.

The book is divided into four sections: I. 'Ethnophaulisms [a Robackian coinage] in English'; II. 'Ethnophaulisms in Foreign Languages'; III. 'National Slurs in Proverbs'; IV. 'Aspects of Ethnic Prejudice.'

The collection of slurs in English has little apparatus to indicate origin, distribution, or level of usage. The whimsical and the gross, Briticisms and American collegiate slang, appear side by side. Of the total list I recognize only about a third in any form; of this third, only half seem generally current (many went out of use centuries ago), including several which cannot qualify as slurs, e.g., 'Dutchman's breeches' for a kind of flower, or the game of 'hopscotch,' in which there is nothing to label it a slur, nor in whose etymon is anything to relate it to Scotland. Documentation is scant and erratic.

The word lists from other languages seem little better. As a check, several of these lists have been referred to native speakers, with the consistent reaction that Roback has mingled the obsolete and the current, with little documentation and frequent misinterpretation. The treatment is often superficial: it seems impossible that Serbo-Croatian contains no slurs against Turks, Bulgarians, Greeks, or Germans, but none are cited.

The list of slurs in proverbs is arranged according to the groups against which the slurs are directed, rather than by the languages in which they occur, without explanation for the arrangement. 'Swabians' are given a place of importance comparable to that of Englishmen and Spaniards, though Swabia as a political power disappeared in the 13th century. Is

1. *A Dictionary of International Slurs (Ethnophaulisms), with a Supplementary Essay on Aspects of Ethnic Prejudice.* By A. A. Roback. Cambridge, Mass.: The Sci-Art Press, 1944. 394 pp.

there a point in quoting three times, with different language-sources, the English translation of the proverb that the grass never grew again where the Turk's horsemen had been? It would make sense to give some indication of the origin and earliest date. As elsewhere the definition of a 'slur' is very loose. After all, 'Something is rotten in the state of Denmark' is not used as a slur on the Danes; and though Napoleon may have sneered when he said the English didn't know when they were beaten, this has almost always been considered a compliment.

The essay on 'Aspects of Ethnic Prejudice,' around which the book was planned and written, is on a par with the rest. The subject of ethnic prejudice Franz Boaz and his students have handled far better in both the scientific and the popular vein. Some of the statements here are fallacious—as (pp. 298-299) that the Swedes and Danes and Norwegians have no insulting remarks for each other, and that their English and American nicknames imply no scorn. For the former one has but to go to the Scandinavian settlements in Minnesota and the Dakotas; for the latter, to recall Knute Rockne's classic, 'What's dumber than a dumb Irishman? A Smart Swede.' The tone of the essay, and frequent unsupported statements, show what is implicit elsewhere—that Roback is writing against anti-Judaism, not against national slurs. His proposed solution—a federal law barring the mails to printed matter containing such slurs—seems to me naive.

The bibliography is long and impressive. But one might wonder how much use Roback actually made of these works, since he apparently did not check his etyma very closely. Something of the author's methodology may be learned from his statement that he did not use any Yiddish dictionaries but compiled his list of slurs from memory and from Bernstein's collection of proverbs. In short, the field is still open for the sound scholar who can produce a scientific treatise on why nations—and other groups—call each other names.

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* Many of the items in this bibliography have been supplied by a committee of readers. We wish to acknowledge for this issue the assistance of Martha Jane Gibson, Woodford A. Heflin, Theodore Hornberger, A. G. Kennedy, H. L. Mencken, Mamie Meredith, I. W. Russell, F. F. Seely, J. H. Sledd, Robert Wadsworth.

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AMONG THE NEW WORDS

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IN 'Among the New Words' for October, 1944, attention was called to the adding of a past participial adjective to different nouns to form various combinations used as adjectives. Then came the sentence, 'The war has brought forward two others, *-based* and *-borne,* which are being freely used in the formation of compounds.' This statement, a friend recently commented, unfortunately implies that these two past participial adjectives are new in the ranks of those regularly used in combinations. It seems advisable, therefore, at the risk of some repetition, to return to the subject and modify this implication. It is also possible to add some new combinations.

Though *borne* is not entered in either NID or Funk and Wagnalls, it is discussed in the OED, s. v. *borne,* ppl. a., where it is defined as 'Carried, sustained, endured, etc. Used attrib. chiefly in such constructions as "patiently borne injuries," the "breeze-borne note".' The only citation is 'The shard-borne beetle' from *Macbeth,* 1605, and no additional citations occur in the OED Sup. The OED's citations for *airborne, seaborne,* and *water-borne,* however, suggest a continuous history down to the present.

Following is a revised list of combinations with *borne: airborne* (OED 1641-), *beetle-borne* (*Life* 11 Sept. 1944 p. 225), *carrier-borne* (*Am. Sp.* Oct. 1944 p. 225), *chairborne* (*Yank* 12 Nov. 1943 p. 15/3), *footborne* (Gunther *D Day* 1943 p. 81), *glider-borne (Am. Sp. loc. cit.), insect-borne* (*Time* 6 Mar. 1944 p. 62/3), *mule-borne (Am. Sp. loc. cit.), rat-borne* (*TN* 4 Dec. 1944 p. 3/4 AP), *road-borne (Am. Sp. loc. cit.), seaborne* (OED 1823-), *sky-borne* (NID *sky-born*), *water-borne* (OED 1702-).

In its sense of 'established as a base,' *based* is not in the OED, the NID, or Funk and Wagnalls. The OED Sup. includes it with one citation from 1925. No mention is made of its use in combinations in this sense, though there is an entry for *shore-based* with a citation from 1927. The recorded evidence for this sense of *based* in combinations, therefore, is comparatively recent. Its popularity seemingly dates from the present war.

A revised list of combinations with *based* follows. As with the combinations with *borne,* two or more citations for some of them are on file. *Aleutian-based* (B'ham *News–Age-Her.* 24 Dec. 1944 p. One-A/1 AP), *Australia-based* (*Time* 19 Feb. 1945 p. 88/3), *Britain-based* (*BN* 27 May 1944 p. 1/6 AP), *carrier-based* (*Am. Sp.* Oct. 1944 p. 224), *fleet-based (ibid.), homebased* (*TN* 3 Aug. 1944 p. 1/6 AP), *India-based* (*Am. Sp. loc.*

cit.), Italy-based (ibid.), land-based (ibid.), Leyte-based (*BN* 25 Nov. 1944 p. 1/1 AP), *Marianas-based* (*BN* 19 Jan. 1945 p. 1/2 AP), *Marshalls-based* (*TN* 30 July 1944 p. 1/3 AP), *Mediterranean-based* (*TN* 12 Nov. 1943 p. 1/6 AP), *Panama-based* (*Sat. Eve. Post* 2 Dec. 1944 p. 90/3), *Philippine-based* (*TN* 22 Jan. 1945 p. 1/1AP), *Russia-based* (*BN* 27 June 1944 p. 1/6), *Saipan-based* (*Time* 11 Dec. 1944 p. 66/2), *shore-based* (OED Sup. 1927).

In 'Among the New Words' for December, 1944, *momentarily,* in the sense of 'momently, at any moment,' was listed with several 1944 citations. But this sense of the word is older. Professor Atcheson L. Hench has already called attention to his note on this sense of the word in *American Speech* 4:187-188, where he lists a citation under date 1928. He notes, among other matters of interest, that *momentarily* in this sense occurs with the verb *expect.*

A belated acknowledgment is owed Professor Hench for a citation used in 'Among the New Words' for December, 1944. For the present issue thanks for citations are due the following: Dwight L. Bolinger (2), H. F. Cotter (1), Ralph Hagedorn (1), Mamie J. Meredith (8), Allen Walker Read (2), Peter Tamony (4). The definitions of *airstrip* and *fighter strip* were derived from material kindly supplied by Mr. Kent Cooper, of the Associated Press. Col. Elvin R. Heiberg, AAF, Washington, supplied the information on *landing strip* and *strip.* According to Col. Heiberg, *airstrip* is not an AAF term, but *landing strip* is.

To conserve space, the abbreviation *'BN'* is used for the Birmingham (Ala.) *News* and *'TN'* for the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) *News.*

SYMBOLS: The symbol + before a word or definition indicates an Americanism. A date immediately following a word or definition indicates the time of evidence shown in the DAE, or, if so stated, in another publication. Dates in brackets indicate the time, etc., of British usage. An asterisk after a word indicates that the word is illustrated in British usage before 1600.

ACTIVATE. 'To make active, move to activity.' [1626-]. +See quots.—1941 Springfield *Republican* 15 Jan. p. 1 Numerous air corps squadrons . . . will be 'activated' at Langley field . . . this morning . . . 1942 *Time* 23 Feb. p. 45 When the Sixth Armored Division was activated (Army for 'hatched') at Fort Knox last week, the Army let it be known that the Armored Force now has two armored corps. . . 1943 N. Y. *Times* 24 Oct. p. 8E/4 . . . activate . . . It means to get busy, to go into action, or, more simply, to begin. 1944 *Time* 25 Dec. p. 21/1 Basic unit of the Volkssturm is the four-company battalion, but brigades and divisions may be activated when it becomes capable of disposing bigger units.

AIR STRIP, AIRSTRIP. A hurriedly-prepared strip of land for temporary use by landing aircraft, usually fighter planes. —1942 *Newsweek* 7 Dec. p. 27 Then . . . further airstrips for landing the transport planes were built by the troops as they went along the jungle trails . . . 1944 *Time* 7 Feb. p. 85. *Sat. Eve. Post* 29 April p. 23/3 . . . the Seabees went into the lagoon, laid four causeways for repairing the air strip. *BN* 25 July p. 1/1 (AP) Marines and Army Infantry met stronger

opposition on Guam, . . . but isolated an airstrip . . . Lincoln (Neb.) *Telephone News* Dec. p. 5 On this island it was the Sea Bees who took and held the main air strip.

AMTRAC, AMPHTRACK. See first quot.—1944 B'ham *News-Age-Her.* 2 April p. 9-A (AP) A small American force . . . moved ashore . . . in amtracs (amphibious tractors) and boats. *Nat'l. Geog.* July p. 11. *Newsweek* 7 Aug. pp. 29, 30 Now amphtracks (amphibious tractors) thrashed through the water toward us. *BN* 7 Dec. p. 1/1 (AP) Al Dopkins . . . said the cavalrymen . . . came around the southern horn of Leyte on a 125-mile three-day trip, the longest ever made by amtracs under their own power. 1945 *BN* 22 Jan. p. 9/3-4 (Headline) Amtrac Knocked Out By Luzon Japs.

BAZOOKA. 'A type of horn invented by Bob Burns' (1942 Berrey and Van den Bark *American Thesaurus of Slang*). + See quot. 1944 *Britannica Book of the Year.*—1943 *Newsweek* 5 April p. 18 However, the Allies have a surprise in store for the Axis in the shape of the 'bazooka.' *Time* 5 April p. 74/3 Major General Levin H. Campbell Jr. . . . last week stripped some of the mystery from one secret U. S. weapon, the rocket-firing anti-tank gun which soldiers have dubbed the bazooka. *TN* 15 Sept. p. 1 (AP) The army's secret weapon is a secret no longer —the Bazooka made its first public appearance today at an army show on the Washington monument grounds. Named 'Bazooka' by soldiers, it is an anti-tank rocket gun . . . 1944 *Sat. Eve. Post* 8 July p. 21/2 All of a sudden, one of our boys got his bazooka on his shoulder and let go with a tremendous, crashing 'Boom!' . . . 1944 *Britannica Book of the Year* p. 769/2 BAZOOKA. A firearm, consisting of a metal tube slightly over 50 inches long and under 3 inches in diameter, with a shoulder stock, front and rear grips, sights, electric battery to set off the charge, and trigger, designed to launch rocket projectiles. . . .

BROWNOUT. See quots.—1942 Parry *War Dictionary* . . . brown-out . . . used in Australia to denote semidarkening a city as distinguished from the complete darkening of a blackout. Also a complete blackout. *Business Week* 26 Dec. p. 7/2 'Brownout' is the word for this douse-lights program to distinguish it from blackout and dimout. The term blackout used during power curtailment in southeastern states a year ago, has taken on a harsher meaning since Pearl Harbor. 1943 *Advertising Age* 13 Sept. p. 61 The suggested conservation measures for electricity involve a national 'brownout,' the extinguishing of all ornamental and display lighting and signs after 10 P. M. N. Y. *Post* 1 Nov. p. 34/1 The dimout ends officially tonight and the 'brownout' begins—but you may not be able to detect the difference immediately. *Time* 8 Nov. p. 14/2 Washington suggested that a 'brownout' (midway between total darkness and every marquee ablaze) would help save electricity and fuel . . .

BUZZ, '. . . *rare.* a. To assail, din, or molest by buzzing.' [1679-]. *v. i. & t. Aviation.* To fly close to an object on the ground, to fly close to the ground, esp. in a spirit of frolic or showing-off.—1941 *American Speech* Oct. p. 164/1 BUZZING A TOWN. To do the town; in Air Corps, to fly over it. 1942 *Time* 14 Dec. p. 82/2 They said he could buzz the camouflage off the top of a hangar without touching it. 1943 *Sat. Eve. Post* 18 Dec. p. 11/3 He had to buzz. 1944 *Life* 5 June p. 96 Shortly before McAvoy took this paragraph he sighted a family of hippos disporting in Chad's muddy waters. The plane buzzed them and they submerged. *Sat. Eve. Post* 19 Aug. p. 34/2 He buzzed everything from the pure joy of being alive and up where he loved to be, in an airplane in the sky. He buzzed, magnificently fought and dare-deviled three crews into combat-stress screw-ups, as war neurosis victims are called in the Air Force.

BUZZER, *n.* One who buzzes. (Also attrib.)—1943 *Sat. Eve. Post* 18 Dec. p. 11/2 . . . Johnny was an incorrigible 'buzzer.' 1944 San Francisco *Examiner* 26 May p. 11/4 'Buzzer' Pilots Fined $5,000. *This Week* 12 Nov. p. 6/2 'Are you boys all buzzers?' I ask the flyers. 'No

sir!' they come back at me. 'It's just the young, inexperienced ones that dive low over houses an' put on stunts over crowds.'

BUZZING, *n.* The act of flying an airplane dangerously close to the ground. See also last quot. See *buzz, v.* (Also attrib.)—1943 *Sat. Eve. Post* 18 Dec. p. 44/2 Buzzing seemed ridiculous in his slow, staid, tremendously steady nature. *Ibid.* 18 Dec. p. 11 Buzzin' Johnny Gets His Medal. 1944 *This Week* 12 Nov. p. 6/2 'Poor ol' Art got grounded after he crashed on that buzzin' expedition,' one of 'em said to the rest. San Francisco *Examiner* 11 June p. 3/8 Two Army flyers must pay $1,000 fines for 'buzing' [sic]—flying low over residential areas—. . . . *This Week* 12 Nov. p. 6/2 Well, here about 40 years after comes this word 'buzzin'.' It's how you describe a young airplane pilot showin' off before his family or his girl friend.

DDT. See quots.—1943 *Soap and Sanitary Chemicals* Dec. p. 117/1 An insecticide material of similar type is now being made in the United States by Geigy & Co., New York, under the name 'DDT.' 1944 *Time* 6 Mar. p. 62/3. *The DuPont Magazine* Apr.-May p. 23 The Department has also recently started the manufacture of a new and remarkable insecticide, 'DDT.' This is a new synthetic organic insecticide—the basis for the louse powder now used by the armed forces. *Read. Dig.* May p. 45. *Newsweek* 12 June p. 96. 1945 *Harper's* Feb. p. 265/1 Most spectacular of these weapons, of course, is DDT—dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane, or more accurately, 2, 2bis-(parachloro-phenyl) 1, 1, 1-trichloroethane —which really isn't new at all.

DITCH. 'To throw into the "ditch," or sea; to discard' (1942 Berrey and Van den Bark *American Thesaurus of Slang*). *v. i.* & *t.* To bring a disabled aircraft down on the water.—1943 Redding & Leyshon *Skyways to Berlin,* p. 213. *Popular Science* Nov. p. 84. *Life* 29 Nov. p. 75/2 Didn't see her ditch. 1944 B'ham *News—Age-Her.* 27 Aug. p. 5-D/7 (AP) Terry prepared to 'ditch' the plane in the sea. *Read. Dig.* Dec. p. 6/2 We knew about 15 minutes ahead of time we'd probably have to ditch.

DITCHING. (Also attrib.) 1943 Gunther *D Day* p. 12. *Life* 29 Nov. p. 83/3 The prospect of ditching as we approached North Africa seemed trivial after the vicious nightmare of the long trip across southern Germany. 1944 *Ibid.* 1 May p. 112 Ditching is primarily the art of getting a big, fast plane down on the water in one piece. Lincoln (Neb.) *Evening Journal* 2 June Lieutenant White had everybody get in 'ditching position.' *Sat. Eve. Post* Oct. p. 24/3 Krantz had to order the crew to prepare for ditching.

EARTHQUAKE BOMB. Six-ton bomb which penetrates into the earth so deeply that when its delayed-action fuse explodes, the result is 'earth quaking.'—1944 *TN* 3 Oct. p. 1/4 (AP) The 'earthquake' bombs of 12,000 pounds tore gaps in the dike . . . *Time* 23 Oct. p. 28/3. CBS Newscast 7:55 C. W. T. 29 Oct. . . . and the Tirpitz was hit by at least one six-ton earthquake bomb. *PM* 14 Nov. p. 7/3-5 The British Air Ministry announced that 29 RAF Lancaster bombers dropped armor-piercing, six-ton 'earthquake' bombs on the vessel Sunday. 1945 *TN* 8 Feb. p. 1/1 (AP) RAF Lancasters blasted German E-Boat shelters at Ijmuiden on the west coast of Holland with 12,000-pound earthquake bombs today . . .

FIGHTER STRIP. An airstrip.—1944 *BN* 25 April p. 1/1 (AP) Australian Royal Air Force engineers worked at night under floodlights . . . to repair the bomber and fighter strips . . . *Sat. Eve. Post* 8 July p. 32/3 The bus stopped in a village which was hardly more than a mile from the fighter strip . . . *Time* 11 Dec. p. 66/3.

JET AIRPLANE, JET PLANE. Plane operated by jet-propulson.—1944 *Collier's* 22 Apr. p. 13/1 Few standard conveniences for upper stratosphere flying had yet been built into the jet airplane . . . *Sat. Eve. Post* 6 May p. 20/1-2 The British had flown a jet plane successfully . . . *This Week* 9 July p. 9/5 The jet plane has cut out the need for a propeller by providing its own, 'built-in' slipstream.

TN 21 Aug. p. 3/5 (headline) Nazi Jet Plane Tops In Speed. *Sat. Eve. Post* 2 Dec. p. 35/3 (adv.).

JET PROPULSION. 'The act or method of propelling a vessel or an airship by ejecting water or air from the stern in a powerful jet' (1942 Funk and Wagnalls *New Standard Dictionary*). Also applied to airplanes which run without propellers and use exhaust gases. (Also attrib.)—1932 (Hermann Oestrich) Prospects for jet propulsion of airplanes with special reference to exhaust gases . . . [translation by J. Vanier from] *Jahrbuch 1931 der Deutschen Versuchsanstalt für Luftfahrt,* Washington, May (cited in *Catalog of the Public Documents . . . for the Period from January 1, 1937 to December 31, 1938* . . . Washington, 1942, p. 1573/1). 1944 *TN* 12 Jan. p. 8 The 'rocket' or jet-propulsion method is basically simple. Lond. *Spect.* 14 Jan. p. 26. *Time* 24 Jan. p. 66 This cutaway drawing illustrates in simplified form the operation of a propellerless, jet-propulsion airplane. *Life* 26 June p. 68. *Sat. Eve. Post* 6 May p. 20/1 He'd been interested in jet propulsion for a long time. *Read. Dig.* Sept. p. 86/1.

LANDING STRIP. 'The cleared, drained, and graded strip used by planes in landing and taking off.'—1943 Gunther *D Day* p. 29 . . . on one emergency landing strip a wrecked P-38 on its back . . . 1944 *BN* 16 May p. 3/6 (AP) The Japanese . . . are seeking to disrupt . . . the reinforcement of Allied landing strips . . . *Sat. Eve. Post* 3 June p. 50/4 . . . on the walls were jumbo photographs . . . of memorable days at the base, such as the time a dozen fliers linked arms coming in from the landing strip . . . *Time* 10 July p. 76 (adv.) Sailors and soldiers have laid millions and millions of feet of [landing mat] into airfield landing strips . . . *BN* 1 Dec. p. 8/7 (AP) The Morris Field public relations office said the Fort, which over-shot a landing strip in foggy weather, was based at McDill Field . . .

+SOAP OPERA. A radio serial, usually highly emotional and melodramatic. See also quots. (Also attrib.)—1940 *Harper's* April p. 498/1 These sob-in-the-throat radio dramas are known to the trade as 'soap operas' or 'strip shows.' 1941 Waldo Abbot *Handbook of Broadcasting* (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill) p. 35 Perhaps the newest and most interesting innovation in style in commercial announcing is the announcing technique used on one of the 'soap operas' . . . 1943 *Sat. Eve. Post* 13 Nov. pp. 22/3, 44/1 I sit through innumerable soap operas to keep the atmosphere from being polluted by unintentional obscenity. 1944 *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 19 Feb. p. 26 . . . it is inevitable that he come up with the soap opera number one on the no-hit parade. *Life* 11 Sept. p. 67/2 Like most soap operas (so named because one soap manufacturer spends $15,000,000 a year on the 16 it sponsors), *Mary Marlin* is based on the assumption that the American woman likes to be reminded that it is always darkest before dawn. *Life* 11 Sept. p. 67/1 Mary Marlin, one of radio's longest-suffering soap-opera heroines, is successfully surviving another crisis.

STRIP. 'A long, narrow tract of territory, of land, wood, etc.' [1816-]. See *Landing Strip.*—1942 *Time* 3 Aug. p. 48/3 They learned first to come in on a flood-lighted strip . . . *Newsweek* 21 Dec. p. 20 Originally built by the Japanese, its five strips are now as familiar to the pilots as the floors of their own family living rooms. 1943 *Time* 18 Jan. p. 28/3 . . . Kenney had to find new strips for his supply planes. 1944 *TN* 11 June p. 1/3 (AP) They landed on one of the three strips built since last Wednesday . . . *Sat. Eve. Post* 24 June p. 80/3 And there was apt to be a cross wind over the Tarawa strip. . . .

SUPERFORTRESS, SUPER FORTRESS, SUPERFORT. The B-29 heavy bomber made by Boeing.—1944 *TN* 15 June p. 1/8 The army threw a new fighting giant into the war in the Pacific today, turning loose the new B-29 superfortress in an air attack. . . . *TN* 16 June p. 1/7 (AP) We are in the forefront of scores of Super Fortresses . . . *Time* 26 June p. 63/1-2 . . . to the public at large the

Superfortress was a nebulous thing of mystery and hope. *Life* 31 July p. 38. *TN* 21 Aug. p. 1/1 (AP) In the first daylight operation . . . the Superforts of the 20th Air Force got 'good' results in a strike at the industrial area. . . . *Newsweek* 13 Nov. p. 5 (adv.). *Time* 4 Dec. p. 29/2.

TEEN-AGER. One of teen age.—1943 *Good Housekeeping* May p. 58 The right cotton dress can turn a gangling Teen-Ager into a glamour girl. *Recreation* Aug. pp. 275-284+. Cited *Readers' Guide.* 1944 *TN* 17 Feb. p. 10/1 (AP) Georgia, first to enact legislation giving 'teen-agers the right to vote and soldier-vote legislation, has had little response so far from either group. *Harper's* May p. 518/2 A recent article in the *New York Times* described a number of juke joints organized by teen-agers in various parts of the country . . . *Life* 14 Aug. p. 62. *Sat. Eve. Post* 23 Sept. p. 74/2 'You should see the teen-agers who hang around the USO.' *Ladies' Home Journal* Dec. p. 6/1 Too many of our teen-agers have missed the chance to grow in usefulness.

V-2. [Ger. *Vergeltungswaffe Zwei*= Vengeance Weapon 2]. A rocket 30-50 ft. long and 5 ft. in diameter, with a bomb load estimated at 1 ton up. Jet-propelled some 70 miles into the superstratosphere, it falls 800-1000 m.p.h. about 200 miles from its place of launching. (Also attrib.) —1944 *Life* 21 Aug. p. 17/1 It seems probable to me that the V-2, successor to the V-1 robot bomb, will be a heavy rocket . . . *Newsweek* 10 July p. 30/3 V-2 may be the giant rocket with which the Nazis are known to have been experimenting. *Time* 7 Aug. p. 26/2. London *Spectator* 18 Aug. p. 144/1. *BN* 21 Sept. p. 1/7 (AP) Citizens of neutral countries who claim to have seen the Nazi 'V-2' secret weapon, believed to be a rocket bomb, say it looks 'like a flying telegraph pole with a trail of flame' . . . *PM* 12 Nov. p. 10/2 . . . V-2's accuracy is hard to judge. *Life* 25 Dec. p. 48/2 V-2 launching site on Baltic coast was photographed by RAF.

MISCELLANY

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GI LINGO

From casual discussions with some half dozen informants, most of whom were AST students, I have collected a few of the expressions which go to make up the 'special' language of the American soldier of 1944. I find that some of the items in the collection have already appeared in lists of army slang in *American Speech*:[1] for example, *armored cow, battery acid, blow your top, browned off, bunk fatigue, china clipper, chow, gold bricker, goof off, guardhouse lawyer, latrineogram, latrine rumor, the old man, pearl diver, pill roller, slum,* and *sugar report.* Recent items, and older items which failed to find a place in the lists just mentioned, are as follows[2] (an asterisk indicates that the entry is discussed in E. Colby, *Army Talk,* Princeton University Press, 1942):

ATLANTIC CITY COMMANDO, or A.C.C. Soldier who took basic training in Atlantic City, where he was given luxurious quarters in one of the best hotels.

BEAT YOUR BRAINS OUT. Work hard at a problem without solving it.

BEAT YOUR GUMS. Talk a lot about something.

BEDPAN COMMANDO. Medical corpsman.

BEING GI. Doing only what is authorized and not wishing to take any risks.[3]

BLOW IT OUT YOUR BARRACKS BAG! Shut up! Go to hell!

BOARDWALK COMMANDO. Member of the Air Corps who received basic training at Atlantic City.

BOUDOIR COMMANDO. Home-front hero.

BROWNIE. A person who is always asking and answering questions in class to impress the instructor. Also a person who stays after class to try to insinuate himself into the teacher's good graces. (Cf. BROWN in Colby, p. 223; and BROWN NOSE in AS 14:25.)

B.T.O. Big time operator.

BUCK. To study or cram for a test. (Cf. AS 16:164 and Colby, pp. 34-35, where the more general meaning for this term is given.)

CAB HAPPY. 'Nuts' about driving.

CHAIR-BORNE INFANTRY. AST men; desk men in general.

CHANCRE MECHANIC. Medic.

CHICKEN, or C.S. (CHICKEN SHIT). A person is 'chicken' when he abides too closely by army rules and regulations, or when he misuses or abuses authority, especially in minor or petty matters.

CORNPLASTER COMMANDO. Infantryman.

C.Q. Charge of Quarters.

CURVED BALLS. Tricky questions on an examination.

DIT HAPPY.[4] 'Batty' because of copying too much radio code.

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1. 12: 74-75, 14: 23-32, 14: 32, 16: 163-169, 16: 186, 17: 67-68.

2. Some of these are obviously holdovers from civilian slang.

3. For some examples of the widely used term 'GI' see AS 16: 165. My informants mentioned the following as typical: GI JESUS, 'chaplain'; GI SHITS, 'diarrhea'; and GI STEAK, 'cold cuts.' That the term is not necessarily limited in application to the ordinary soldier (GI JOE) is shown by the following quotation from soldier speech: 'What this place needs more than anything else is a few good GI officers.' But the reference is, of course, to officers who have come up through the ranks.

4. Cf. AS 19: 61.

DON'T BE BITTER! Don't be discouraged or dismayed because of hard luck or a bad grade on a test (used ironically).

DUMMY-UP. Learn what's going on; smarten up (ironical).

EAGER BEAVER. A soldier who is so anxious to impress his superiors that he volunteers for every job that offers, or otherwise displays unusual diligence. (Sometimes the adjective is used by itself; cf. AS 16:165.)

EAR BEATER. A person who doesn't give you a chance to get a word in edgeways.

EGGS. Bombs.

FUBAR ['fu,bar]. Fouled[5] up beyond all recognition.

G.F.U. General foul up: a soldier who does not do the work he is supposed to do.

G-MAN. Soldier attending to garbage on K.P.

*HOLY JOE. Chaplain.

JANFU ['dʒæn,fu]. Joint army-navy foul up.

JEEP JOCKEY. Truck driver.

JEEP YARDBIRD. Rookie: Soldier in the army only a short time. (Often simply *JEEP, or *YARDBIRD; for the latter cf. AS 16:169.)

MICKEY MOUSE MOVIES. Personal hygiene movies.

MODEL T. Non-com technician.

NINETY-DAY WONDER. An officer who holds a commission by virtue of having attended a three-months course direct from civilian life.

NUT BUSTER. Mechanic.

ON THE BALL. Wide awake and alert.

ORIGINAL SAD SACK, or OS.[2] A subject of ridicule. (SAD SACK has apparently lost some of its punch.)

PARAGRAPH TROOPER. A member of the 'Chair-borne Infantry.'

PILL PEDDLER, or PILL PUSHER. Medic.

SHIT FOR THE BIRDS. Nonsense, drivel, irrelevant matter. (A variant: THAT'S FOR THE BIRDS. It's meaningless.)

*SNAFU ['snæ,fu]. Situation normal, all fouled up—Army style.

SNAP YOUR CAP. Become excited, flustered.

SPARKS. Radio operator.

*SWEAT SOMETHING OUT. Wait a long time with anxiety for something, e.g., an NCO's rating. (Cf. AS 16:169.)

TARFU ['tar,fu]. Things are really fouled up.

T.S. Tough situation! Tough shit! (Same as 'Don't be bitter!')

T.S. SLIP. When a soldier's complaints become unbearable, his listeners frequently tell him to fill out a 'T.S. Slip' and send it to the chaplain. (Cf. SEE THE CHAPLAIN in Colby; also AS 16:168.)

ULIO UNIVERSITY. Adjutant General's School.

U.S.O. COMMANDO. Home-front hero.

VENEREAL GUNNER. Doctor; medic.

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AN UNRATIONED MEAL OF CROW

It is almost platitudinous to remark that the speaker of one language or dialect is nearly blind to the comic spirit of another. For most Americans, years of earnest effort with *Simplicissimus, La Vie Parisienne* and, for that matter, *Punch,* are likely to end with a baffled feeling that there is nothing funny about these classic journals of wit. Even more earnest Europeans, avid for the essence of one of the two or three nations destined to play a major role in the twentieth-century world, are likely to discover a similar frustration in American humor. I wonder whether we are exhibiting our celebrated national trait at its best when we call them stupid.

One example of the barriers which await the foreign student of

5. An obvious euphemism, as in the next item and elsewhere.

our culture has recently come to my attention. It hinges on a linguistic subtlety which should be of interest to students of *American Speech*. In the *Columbus Citizen*, and presumably in other Scripps-Howard papers for March 28, 1945, there appeared a cartoon by Talburt with the legend 'No Food Shortage Here!' The picture is dominated by an heroic-sized but thoroughly dead bird, labelled 'Crow.' The bird is impaled on what I take to be the end of a bayonet. Below, at a rude table, sit a baffled pair—a hangdog Adolf Hitler and the inevitable but nameless toothy Jap. With Tokyo being bombed and Germany being overrun from west and east, it should be clear to any American that his symbolic enemies, notorious for their boastful prophecies, are about *to eat crow* without benefit of ration points.

To arrive at that conclusion, however, one must have a good deal of information and even some understanding. These are the things one must know:

1) There is a food shortage in Germany, or at least Americans are anxious to believe that there is one.

2) There is a food shortage in America, but it is not so serious that we can't joke about it.

3) The military situation in Japan and Germany is scarcely an agreeable one for those two nations.

4) Americans and their allies feel that braggadocio is a striking characteristic of Hitler and his allies.

5) Hitler and the Jap are sitting at the table in the cartoon for the purpose of a meal.

6) *To eat crow* means 'to be forced to swallow one's boastful words.'

The sixth point, of course, is the essence of the jest, the powerful adhesive which joins all these various incongruities.

One assumes that Nazi espionage is as active as our own intelligence corps in studying the clues to national consciousness and morale. Consider, then, the experiences of a harrassed Nazi bureaucrat. At first glance he seems to get somewhere. The bird is *die Krähe*. Despite its elliptical nature, the cartoon's title is easily converted to 'Bei uns kein Nährungsmangell' But what of the six remaining points I have mentioned?

1) The food shortage in Germany may not be so great as we in America desire. Whatever it may be in fact, it certainly cannot be officially serious.

2) The food shortage in America is surely not so great as a Nazi would desire. In any event, both of these first two points are ostensibly denied by the cartoon's title, which may be ironic and may not be.

3) A Nazi is bound for the sake of his own morale to deny that the military situation is as unfavorable as the American press reports.

4) It would scarcely become a good Nazi to admit that his Fuehrer was boastful. That is a trait more commonly attributed to the Allied leaders.

5) There is no tableware to indicate that Hitler and the Jap are about to dine.

6) *To eat crow* is a meaningless colloquialism.

Fact after fact, feeling after feeling, are denied and baffled. The crucial expression is meaningless, or is it? The Nazi is steeped by temperament and present policy in Germanic *Heldensage*. The crow is his raven of battle, symbol of heroic death! What can one conclude other than that the stupid

Americans are pretending that Der Fuehrer is sad because of the defeat of his brave heroes on the battlefield? How poor a sense of propaganda these Americans have! What *Schweinerei!*

How can we in turn, then, accuse our enemy of stupidity? If he knows the standard language well he makes a stock response and a false equation, both of them perfectly natural. Why bother to consult subordinate meanings like NED's *Crow sb.*[1] *3: 'To eat (boiled) crow* (U.S. colloq.): to be forced to do something extremely disagreeable and humiliating'? That would be pedantry indeed. There is no indication that the crow is boiled, and no linguistic clue to point to an act of eating. For that matter, the NED does not tell one much. Webster's, the Century, or the DAE might tell one more, but there is so little time.

Should we minimize the linguistic wall which blocks international understanding, whether it be for war or for peace?

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MORE WAR WORDS

War words are frequently but fleeting testimony of an equally transient military situation, organization, special piece of equipment, or even a fiercely contested military objective. Among the following words, some have already ceased to be current, and are recorded here to preserve them from permanent oblivion. Others will probably continue to recur in speech and in print for as long as the ideas or objects they represent continue to function. Supplementing similar collections which have already appeared in *American Speech,* the list provides illuminating illustrations of many aspects of the creative process: words formed from initial letters, portmanteau words, words from places, compounds, abbreviations and shortenings, loan words, and the enrichment from metaphor.

ABSIE. American Broadcasting Service Inside Europe. N. Y. *Times,* May 22, 1944, p. 6, col. 2.

AMPHTRACS. 'Amphibian tractors, widely called alligators.' N. Y. *Times,* Sept. 21, 1944, p. 3, col. 1.

ANZIO AMBLE. A fast shuffle from one shelter to the next. N. Y. *Times,* April 23, 1944, §4E1.

ANZIO ANXIETY. Jitters—from the strain of danger. N. Y. *World-Telegram* (Ernie Pyle), April 18, 1944, §2, p. 1.

ANZIO FOOT. 'Where your feet are pointing in one direction and your face in another . . . when the scream of a shell suddenly turns you on another course.' N. Y. *World-Telegram* (Ernie Pyle), April 18, 1944, §2, p. 1.

ANZIO WALK. 'The performer jumps, jerks, cowers, cringes and twitches his head . . . dodging shells.' N. Y. *World-Telegram* (Ernie Pyle), April 18, 1944, §2, p. 1.

COMM Z. Communication zone (behind-the-front Service Forces Command). *Time,* Feb. 5, 1945, p. 20.

DOGHOUSE BATTALIONS. Name applied by American troops to German court-martialed airforce officers and to freed convicts doing penance in the front line. N. Y. *Times,* April 26, 1944.

DROOP-SNOOT. P-38 plane with a combined bombardier-navigator compartment added in its nose ahead of the pilot's cockpit. N. Y. *Times,* April 5, 1945, p. 1, col. 2.

DUCK BILLS. Metal flanges welded to tank

treads to give them wider grip—when tanks floundered in the greasy mud. *Time,* April 9, 1945, p. 34, col. 3.

ERSATZWAFFE. Robot bombs. N. Y. *World-Telegram,* June 29, 1944.

GIZMO. 'Something that can be used for anything.' N. Y. *World-Telegram,* February 21, 1945.

IKE'S SNOWBALLS. The white-helmeted, white-gaitered M. P.'s. *Time,* May 1, 1944, p. 66.

KIA. Killed in action—'he was a kia.' N. Y. *Times,* April 28, 1944, p. 7.

NETTUNO NEUROSIS. See ANZIO ANXIETY.

OAKIES. The name applied by American soldiers to the Russian, French, Italian, Polish and even Mongolian men and women who had been brought to Germany as slave labor and, now liberated, are wandering on the roads. N. Y. *World-Telegram,* April 4, 1945, p. 23, col. 4.

OKIES. The name adopted by Marines and soldiers for the Okinawans. 'There is considerably more kinship than the name between the simple people of the Ryukyus and the poor tenant farmers of our own Southwestern States. . . .' N. Y. *Times,* April 4, 1945, p. 20, col. 2 (editorial).

PIPE ORGAN (TANKS). Tanks covered with layers of 'pipes' which contain rocket bombs. Fox Movietone News, release of April 6-7, 1945.

SACK TIME. 'Lying on a cot doing nothing,' because there is nothing to do—'in the Pacific Islands it leads to island neurosis or to going pineapple crazy.' N. Y. *World-Telegram* (Ernie Pyle), March 12, 1945, p. 2.

SANGER. A type of rocky foxhole, characteristic of the terrain in Italy. N. Y. *Times,* April 25, 1944.

SLUG-BUTT. Punch-drunk, jittery. N. Y. *World-Telegram* (Ernie Pyle), April 24, 1944, §2, p. 1.

TELCOM. A non-combatant force to establish cable heads in conquered territory and set up wireless stations. Telcom girls will take the place of men. N. Y. *Times,* June 9, 1944, p. 5.

TODESWAGON. (Also called lebender Sarg—living coffin.) An explosive carrier operated first by a suicide squad and in its last stage by radio control. N. Y. *Times,* May 3, 1944, p. 5, col. 3.

WILLOW RUN. Officers' mess at Grosvenor House, London (seats nearly a thousand people and operates with amazing smoothness). N. Y. *World-Telegram* (Ernie Pyle), May 15, 1944, §2, p. 1.

On the other hand, one war term, albeit a place name, may survive. *Alemein* or *El Alemein* is being heard currently in New York City to signify a turning point in one's career: 'This decision will be my *Alemein.*' Who knows but that for future generations *Alemein* will not only have appropriated the rich connotations of the river which Caesar crossed, but will entirely supersede the Rubicon.

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'DAUNCY'

For *dauncy* and its variants (*daunsey, donsy, doncy*) the DAE gives the meanings 'frail, sickly, not robust.' Since coming to Indiana I have heard the word a number of times, frequently with a shade of meaning which the DAE takes no account of. I finally asked a native Indianian (Mrs. Q. A. Myers of Perrysville) what the word meant to her. She wrote in reply:

'I have often heard the word *dauncy* applied to a child after he gets up cross and tired from an afternoon nap. A newborn calf is dauncy before it gets the use of its legs to walk properly. A young chicken is dauncy if it seems droopy, and I have been dauncy this past week—meaning lacking in energy, languid, inert, sluggish, disinclined to action. There is a

shade of meaning which makes the word apply more aptly to youthful things which should be bubbling with vitality. It would never apply to a lazy man or woman or to an old worn-out horse. It would hardly apply to anything having the strength of a horse. A dauncy thing stirs a feeling of gentle tenderness. A dauncy little bird does not fly away at one's approach. I have heard the word all my life, but I do not know where it came from. It is a provincialism and may have come from my grandmother who was Dutch and brought many provincialisms with her from New Jersey to Indiana.'

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HOW TO FIND [ʌɪ] IN EASTERN VIRGINIA

The purpose of this note is to supplement my article on 'Distinctive Virginia Pronunciation'[1] by offering one or two suggestions that may help some students to observe [ʌɪ] before voiceless consonants as a characteristic of typical Eastern Virginia speech.

In the first place, do not assume that a speaker's pronunciation is representative merely because he is a native of Eastern Virginia. It may be or it may not be. Most of the typical speakers whose pronunciation you test may be natives, but their speech will be representative not because of that fact but because it was molded by Eastern Virginia influence. Speech habits are matters not of nativity but of association and imitation. To classify together two speakers or, for that matter, two investigators of speech for the sole reason that both were born either within or without the borders of a particular state or region is to attach to the place of birth an importance which it cannot in fairness be said to deserve. Indeed, from a person's birthplace it is possible to infer a speech background which he may not possess at all. For example, a native of Eastern Virginia may speak like a typical resident of Massachusetts or of Ohio if the years when his speech habits were being established were spent in one of those states. In like manner, a New Englander or a Middle Westerner by birth may regularly use [ʌɪ] and other characteristic sounds that go along with it if the influence of Eastern Virginia was predominant in the permanent shaping of his habits of speech.

When a representative speaker and a reasonably attentive and discerning observer meet under normal speech conditions, the effect of voiceless consonants upon the diphthong [ɑɪ] should not be hard to distinguish. Consider a few examples. If your speaker is typical and if he speaks naturally, you may expect to hear [ʌɪ] in Eastern Virginia in *life, light, sight, swipe, write,* and similar words. On the other hand, you may look for [ɑɪ] or some variant of it, but not [ʌɪ], in such words as *eye, lime, side, sky,* and *time.* Now make compounds of the words given above

1. *American Speech,* 18: 33-38 (February, 1943).

so that each word formed will contain the diphthong in question before a voiceless consonant in one syllable and before a voiced consonant or in the final position in the other. In these compounds, *eyesight, lifetime, limelight, sideswipe,* and *skywrite* [ʌɪ] before voiceless consonants may be observed by students unaccustomed to [ʌɪ] even more readily than in the single words *life, light, sight, swipe,* and *write,* because in each full word both [ʌɪ] and [ɑɪ] or a close approach to [ɑɪ] will be sounded by the typical Eastern Virginia speaker, who will say [ʌɪ] before voiceless consonants only.

Such words as those listed above can serve at least two other purposes. They contain material for proving the truth about the [ɑɪ] diphthong stated by Professor Kenyon in a paragraph devoted to this diphthong and [ɑʊ]. He says: 'Though the sound in standard speech is approximately [ɑɪ] or [ɑʊ] in all positions, if the student will listen sharply, he will often be able to detect a slight difference in either diphthong according as it is before a voiceless sound or before a voiced or final one.'[2] In addition, words like *eyesight, lifetime, limelight, sideswipe,* and *skywrite* can be used to test for given speakers and speech areas the validity of the observations of some writers concerning the occurrence of certain variants of [ɑɪ] here and there in the South, apart from the influence of voiceless consonants.[3]

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2. John S. Kenyon, *American Pronunciation,* 8th ed. (Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1940), p. 208.

3. William Cabell Greet, *American Speech,* 6: 166 (February, 1931); Medford Evans, *ibid.,* 10: 188-190 (October, 1935); William B. Edgerton, *ibid.,* 10: 190 (October, 1935); and Argus Tresidder, *ibid.,* 16: 116 (April, 1941) and 18: 269 (December, 1943). See also John S. Kenyon and Thomas A. Knott, *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1944), p. xlii.

PHONEMIC CONTRAST

Here is a phonemic opposition which has the advantage over some that are instanced in that it occurred in actual life. My nephew, a Cleveland attorney, and his wife were driving into Canada for a vacation early in the war, when border inspection had become more rigid. The attorney had failed to find his wife's birth certificate. After he had presented to the Canadian customs officer what evidence he had of his wife's identity, the officer said, 'Justification?' The attorney thought fast: 'How can I further justify my claim?' Then he discerned a faint twinkle in the officer's eye, and the light broke. He answered pleasantly, 'Yes!' and drove on, relieved. The officer had said, '[ˌdʒʌst ə vəˈkeʃən]?'

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MINNESOTA LOCALISMS

The following usages are general in the Twin City area; whether they occur throughout Minnesota or beyond its borders is for other observers to check.

BINDER. Rubber band.

BOULEVARD. The grassed area between curbing and sidewalk, without regard to the width or type of street. The use of *boulevard* for a fine avenue is not uncommon in the Twin Cities, being applied to some dozen thoroughfares. Most of these, however, are of recent construction (e. g., Kellogg Boulevard in St. Paul, named for Frank B. Kellogg, the statesman). Some of them are highways rather than avenues (e. g., Excelsior Boulevard leading west from Minneapolis, through open country). The street most closely resembling the European boulevard is Summit Avenue, in St. Paul. which becomes Summit Parkway at its western end. Around each of the Minneapolis lakes is a Drive, while the Mississippi River is bordered on either side by a Road—but these and other parkways, drives, and roads might well have been named boulevards. *Boulevard* for an avenue has not yet become common enough to dislodge the application of the term to the grass plots bordering most streets. (See *Parking.*)

THE LAKE (usually in the expression 'going to the lake'). Because Minnesota has more than 10,000 lakes, it is difficult for Minnesotans to spend their vacations other than beside or near lakes, whether Lake Superior or Mud Pond. Hence the general association of vacationing with lakes. 'Going to the lake' may mean setting out for a specific destination, or it may mean starting (most often northward) with no particular lake or resort in mind (see *Resort).* Reduced to absurdity, the term is even used for a picnic supper a little distance out in the country.

PARKING. The grassed area between curbing and sidewalk. The term is used by some Minnesotans instead of *Boulevard,* by others as an alternate.

PAVEMENT. Concrete paving. Rural people, or city residents with a rural background, restrict their use of *pavement* to concrete roads or streets. In the open country one drives either on gravel or on concrete; there are no brick highways and relatively few of macadam. People to whom concrete is the only recognized paving have no particular words for tarred or asphalt city streets.

RESORT. A single establishment, usually beside a lake. Apparently *resort* is never used in the community sense of Eastern 'summer resorts' (e.g., Old Orchard Beach or Poland Springs in Maine). A typical lake in Minnesota's 'resort country' may have half a dozen resorts on its borders, each one privately owned and consisting of cabins and a lodge for dining and indoor recreation.

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'CAHOOT'

This word, in its modern use, has perhaps a slightly pejorative implication, as though the 'partnership' were a kind of conspiracy.[1] The DAE attests *in cahoot with* since 1829 ('He's in cahoot with me'), *in cahoots with* since 1862 ('Mac wished me to go in cahoots in a store'), *a cahoot business* since 1845, the verb *to cahoot with* since 1857, and *cahoot* 'confederate, associate' since 1869. As to the etymology, the DAE remarks: 'Of obscure origin. F. *cahute* (cabin) and *cohorte* (company) have been suggested, but there is no evidence of connection with either.' The NED had expressed itself more positively in favor of *cahoot* < F. *cahute,* and had referred to the article *cahute* where an example such as (a. 1513, Douglas, *Aeneis*): 'Nyce laborynth . . . had neuir sa feill cahutis and wais' seemed to the authors of the NED to suggest the

1. Compare the same nuance in *Mary and John are thick as thieves.*

meaning 'cabin' and, consequently, the etymology F. *cahute* 'cabin.' But the *Univ. Dict.* posits more correctly for the passage from Douglas the meaning 'a twisting, turning,' and consequently another French etymon: *cahot* 'the jumpe, hop, or jogge of a coach &c. in a rugged or uneven way' (Cotgrave), hence 'an uneven or winding way' (cf. Littré s.v. *cahot* 'un chemin plein de cahots'). Furthermore, it is evident that, as the DAE (this time, rightly) states, we find another reflection of this F. *cahot* in the Amer. Eng. *cahoo* 'pitchhole' (attested in 1874: 'The highways leading to our larger villages . . . are frequently so full of pitchholes or "cahoos" '). Now, with F. *cahot* definitely represented in English by the 16th cent. Eng. *cahute* 'winding,' and by the 19th cent. American *cahoo* 'pitchhole,' it will not appear too bold to connect *in cahoot(s) with* with the same F. *cahot* for which Littré gives also the figurative meaning 'difficulté, obstacle': *c'est une affaire et qui aura bien des cahots,* cf. the figurative use of the verb *cahoter* 'ballotter, tourmenter': *Il fut longtemps cahoté par la fortune.* Thus, it was not business partnership that was first meant when one said *he is in cahoot(s) with me:* this expression was equivalent to 'he is in the pitchholes, in the difficulties of business, together with me' (= he is in the same boat with me); only secondarily did the idea of association prevail over that of the difficulties shared by the associates. The slightly unsavory connotation mentioned above may be a vestigial trait suggestive of some shady business.

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KISS-ME-QUICK

A note in a recent issue of *American Speech* (19: 70-71, 1944) on the origin of *thank-you-ma'am* in the sense of a ridge or depression in a road led me to recall that I had often used and frequently heard *kiss-me-quick* with the same meaning. My investigation of the currency of the term produced some rather interesting results.

No dictionary of slang, colloquialisms, or Americanisms that I have examined lists *kiss-me-quick* with that particular meaning, though the term frequently appears with other meanings. The *DAE* gives *kiss-me-quick* only as a 'homemade bonnet which does not extend beyond the face.' Berrey and Van den Bark, *The American Thesaurus of Slang* (N.Y., 1943), list the term only as a synonym for 'kiss curl.' Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (N.Y., 1937), assigns two meanings to the term: 1. a once-fashionable small bonnet, and 2. a kiss-curl. Farmer and Henley, *Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English* (London, 1912) gives those two meanings and a third, 'a compounded drink.'

However, the term *kiss-me* does appear as a synonym for *thank-you-ma'am* in the *DAE* and in Farmer, *A Dictionary of Americanisms* (London, 1889). An in-

teresting note appears under the term *thank-you-ma'ams* in Sylva Clapin's *A New Dictionary of Americanisms* (N.Y., n.d.). He defines the expression as 'hollows or depressions in a road which cause vehicles to bump up and down. A young man driving his sweetheart in a sleigh, is then permitted to take a kiss at each of these.'

Although *kiss-me-quick* does not seem to appear in the dictionaries with the meaning of ridge or depression in a roadway, it does have that meaning for many people in the southeastern part of the United States. I recently asked one hundred young people of high school age in South Carolina what name they used for such a jolting obstruction to vehicles. Fifty-seven named *kiss-me-quick;* one named *thank-you-ma'am;* forty-two knew no special term. In Georgia many young people and adults told me they had never known any term except *kiss-me-quick.*

I should like to suggest a possible origin for *kiss-me-quick.* In the jolting confusion in a vehicle attendant upon passing over a bump or depression in a road, sweethearts were often thrown into rather intimate positions. Thus the tradition of receiving a kiss and the term *kiss-me* easily arose. *Kiss-me-quick* was already in existence with other meanings; so *kiss-me* readily became *kiss-me-quick* by rhythmic analogy with such terms as *thank-you-ma'am, duck-and-dip,* and *hug-me-tight.*

One very interesting linguistic variant was discovered in my investigation. In Ennis, Texas, the main street is called 'Snuff Street' by most of the young people there because they ride over the depression in the street and 'take a dip.'

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'COCKTAIL' FROM 'COQUETIER'?

Christopher Morley has suggested that the cocktail originated in early American days, at a bar where it was the practice to empty the last ounce or so of miscellaneous bottles of liquor—rum, whisky, etc.—into one bottle, the cork of which was decorated with a rooster's tail feathers. The *Courrier du Pacifique,* a French-language newspaper published in San Francisco, has made the statement that the cocktail originated in 1836, near Washington, when a wounded duellist was carried into a tavern and revived by a mixture of liquor, egg-yolk, sugar, lemon, and crushed ice. In the Baltimore *Evening Sun* of September 27, 1944, a translator signing himself Pum Frit suggests that the word *cocktail* derives from the fact that the drink was offered in an egg cup, the French word for which is *coquetier.* Considering the transmutation of so many words of French origin (of which Smackover, Arkansas, originally Chemin Couvert, serves as an example), the case for *coquetier* as the original of *cocktail* seems pretty good. The foregoing conjectures should be added to those in H. L. Mencken's *The American Language,* p. 149.

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LOCALISMS

Webster's New International Dictionary (1934) marks (1) *dornick,* 'a stone or boulder,' and (2) *feist,* 'a small dog,' as *Local, U.S.* To help in establishing the areas in which these words occur, I offer the following citations: (1) *Life* for May 22, 1944 (p. 110) refers to the 'dornick' gravestone of Cal McCoy and defines 'dornicks' as 'natural slabs of stone which are set up without aid of a professional stonecutter.' McCoy belonged to the part of Kentucky that borders on West Virginia. (2) In the Baltimore *Sun* for February 2, 1944, appears an Associated Press dispatch from Morgantown, West Virginia, in which the following somewhat injudicious statement is attributed to a judge in the Monongalia Circuit Court: 'Some feists, mongrels and cheap politicians have been yapping around over this country that your judge drinks.'

Another word of limited distribution (*Dial., U.S.,* according to Webster) is *smidgen,* 'a mite; a bit.' The opinion recorded in J. S. Hall's *The Phonetics of Great Smoky Mountain Speech* (1942), p. 76, footnote 53, that the word is dying out in the Smokies might lead one to think that *smidgen* was losing ground even in dialect. This cannot be true in all areas, however, for *smidgen* still has enough vitality to make an appearance in *Better Homes and Gardens* for June, 1944, p. 38, as follows: 'Don't leave a smidgen of pulp or sirup.'

Finally, a comment on the phrase *a little stronger,* which, in the sense of 'a little earlier,' was reported in *American Speech,* 18: 307, from Dayton, Ohio, and from Missouri. I have recently discovered two people who are familiar with the idiom: one is from Rosiclaire, Illinois, and the other from Winfield, Kansas.

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TWO NOTES BY MR. MCATEE

1. 'Pen Rest'

The term *pen rest,* not in the leading dictionaries, is recalled from a period when handwriting was an important element in the grading of Civil Service examinations. A pen rest was a dot or other mark of ink inadvertently made on the examination paper and was given a certain weight as a demerit.

2. 'Busybody'

The use of *busybody* for a thing, not a person, according to the NID, is lexicographical news. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, years ago, fixtures common over the front doors of dwellings attracted my attention. I learned that they involved mirrors arranged so that a person inside could inspect a caller without opening the door. They were called *busybodies,* which term in this sense and the object it labelled I have found nowhere else.

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AMPHIBIAN 'DUCKS'

Everyone has seen pictures of the amphibian trucks, or boats on wheels, used in landing operations. They are all called 'ducks,' so it is

natural to suppose that they got this name because of their amphibious nature. Actually they got it by sheer accident, just as did the jeep and the blimp. They are operated by the Amphibian Engineers, to which organization the present writer has been attached since it was started about July, 1942. The War Department issued orders stating that an amphibian truck was to be called a 'DUKW' in all correspondence, orders, etc., that the drivers were to be called 'DUKW operators,' and that a school for them was to be organized in Detroit and was to be called the 'DUKW School.' No one person can be credited with originating the custom of calling them 'ducks.' Everyone started calling them that from the first three letters of the official name.

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[Unfortunately Mr. Morrison did not tell us what the letters 'DUKW' stand for. Perhaps it is a military secret.—THE EDITORS.]

THE 'NEW YORK FOLKLORE QUARTERLY'

We are happy to call the attention of our readers to the *New York Folklore Quarterly,* published under the auspices of the New York Folklore Society and edited by Dr. Louis C. Jones of the State College for Teachers at Albany. If one can judge from the two issues which have already appeared, the *Quarterly* will be required reading for all those who are interested in the culture of New York State, or in American folklore generally. Membership in the Society, including a subscription to the *Quarterly,* costs only $1.50 a year. The Secretary-Treasurer is Victor Reynolds, 124 Roberts Place, Ithaca, New York.